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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 277

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CHINA REPORT
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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BA YI' RADIO BLAMES DENG XIAOPING FOR VIETNAM WAR

OW191043 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin 1400 GMT 17 Feb 82

[Text] Three years ago, our army attacked Vietnam in accordance with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instructions. However, no matter how you look at it, we lost more than we gained in this war. Internationally, it produced a harmful effect. Our neighboring Asian countries began keeping a wary eye on us and staying at a respectful distance. Economically, it cost more than 2 billion yuan, resulting in bigger deficits. Militarily, the fighting in and out lasted a month, resulting in more than 62,500 commanders and fighters being killed or wounded. What is more serious is that the war failed to achieve any of the expected results. Therefore, it is necessary for us to seriously analyze and sum up the pros and cons, successes and failures of the Vietnam war and draw lessons from it.

At the military commission meeting on 3 March 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping in a speech that lasted more than 30 minutes said: "It is I who made the decision to attack Vietnam. It seems that I have gotten myself into trouble again. Some have looked on coldly; others have made insinuations. Still others have cursed me behind my back. I am not afraid of any of them. How can we avoid casualties in wars? Although we were badly mauled, we came out victorious after all." He continued: "We fought this war as a demonstration to others, not to ourselves. Now we not only have taught Vietnam a lesson but also have tempered ourselves."

One cannot help feeling shocked to read the above-mentioned remarks today after 3 years. Comrade Deng Xiaoping was at that time the chief of the general staff, and he went so far as to say that the war, which cost the lives of tens of thousands of commanders and fighters and the huge amount of 2 billion yuan, was fought as a demonstration to others and that we tempered ourselves and taught Vietnam a lesson. May we ask, wasn't it clearly a crime against the country, the army and the people to pay such a high price just to temper ourselves and teach Vietnam a lesson?

Moreover, even from a purely strategic and tactical viewpoint, the war was a mistake. Chairman Mao repeatedly taught us that in fighting a war we must know ourselves and know the enemy, and that we should never fight unless we are sure of winning. However, the attack on Vietnam was decided entirely by one person's subject will. Not only did we fail to make full preparations beforehand and fail to fully assess the firepower and manpower of the Vietnamese side, but during the course of the war we failed to change our tactics in time to reduce needless sacrifices. For example, in the Lang Son campaign, the original plan was to take the

city in 5 days. However, after 22 February, the battle was still being fought on the outskirts of Lang Son, and each day an average of 1,500 to 2,000 men were being killed and wounded. Due to underestimation of the enemy and negligence in prior preparations, a certain regiment of the frontier guards in Yunnan, while throwing a pontoon bridge across the Hong He, suffered more than 200 casualties in 3 hours before dawn on 17 February alone. Moreover, because of the hastiness in the attack and failure to conduct careful reconnaissance, we encountered surprise attacks everywhere from both open and hidden enemy pillboxes and were contained by enemy mine fields and fire power. As a result, our tanks and motor vehicles could not move an inch.

Because of obsolete military technology which resulted in frequent interruptions in communications and liaison and because of our strategic and tactical errors, our army paid a very heavy price. The Chinese people have many wise proverbs, such as "Past experience, if not forgotten, is a guide for the future," and "The overturned cart ahead is a warning to the carts behind." All these proverbs urge people to draw a lesson from past mistakes so as not to make the same mistake again. Party and state leaders in particular should learn lessons from past mistakes because their mistakes directly affect the destiny of the state, nation and hundreds of millions of people.

CSO: 4005/618

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH GOVERNMENT PROPOSES GUIDELINES ON UNIONS

OW221937 Beijing XINHUA in English 1917 GMT 22 Feb 82

[Text] Beijing, 22 Feb (XINHUA)--The Polish Government Sunday offered guidelines for union movement in the country; trade unions, after resuming activities, should be "self-managed and independent," but the constitution of the country should be respected and the leading role of the party acknowledged.

The offer came in a proposal put forward by the committee in charge of trade unions under the Polish Council of Ministers for discussion by all workers and laborers in the country.

All union activities have been suspended since martial law was proclaimed in the country last December 13.

The proposed guidelines are based on a speech made by Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation and prime minister of the government, to the National Assembly last January 25 and on the "conclusions" drawn from talks between the Polish authorities and representatives from trade unions.

The proposal stressed that trade unions, if allowed to resume activities, would have to agree not to take an adversary role with the Polish authorities. The guidelines said the relationship between the trade unions and the state "should be one of positive cooperation and partnership."

The proposal said the union movement should recognize the social ownership of the means of production, abide by state laws and maintain order, respect state constitution, and recognize the leading role of the Polish Party in the society and in the country.

The guidelines rule out the possibility of organizing trade unions within the defense and interior ministries.

The guidelines retain the workers' right to strike under the trade unions law but warned that the right to strike should only be used as a last resort and not to be abused.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BA YI' LINKS DENG'S SOUTH CHINA TOUR TO VIETNAM WAR

OW240951 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin 1400 GMT 22 Feb 82

[Text] Comrade Deng Xiaoping's recuperation and inspection tour of South China has created new tension among the Guangzhou and Kunming PLA units. Currently strenuous efforts are being made by the PLA units stationed along the Chinese border areas of Guangxi and Yunnan to finish the building of military installations and other construction projects. An explosive situation exists in the border areas of Guangxi's Jingxi, Longzhou, Pingxiang and Fangcheng counties as well as in Funing, Malipo and Maguan counties of Yunnan Province.

It goes without saying that an army should not be afraid to fight. There is an old proverb saying that "We maintain an army for a thousands days to use it for an hour." However, this particular "hour" should not be determined by any particular individual. To fight a war, especially to fight a war abroad, should not be something that is determined by some individual leader as it was done in the old days of feudal rule.

Since Comrade Deng Xiaoping himself is the leader of the party's military affairs commission, how could he treat a serious matter like war as something trifling. Although Vietnam is a small country and fighting a war against Vietnam would not result in the destruction of our party and our state, it still is wrong to carelessly send several hundreds of thousands of troops to the battlefield against it. The war in 1979 was of a very short duration, but it resulted in more than 62,000 casualties and cost more than 2 billion yuan. In point of fact, absolutely nothing was gained from that war.

At the meeting of Standing Committee members of the military affairs commission held in (?March), Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: The war against Vietnam achieved the goal of teaching a lesson to the Cuba of the East. We also used this opportunity to temper ourselves. We won the war in a political sense.

However, in view of the nature and scope of the border incidents between China and Vietnam after the Vietnam war, this so-called lesson has proved to be very questionable. Furthermore, in the course of studying military theory over the past 3 years, many commanders and fighters have raised the question of whether or not the attack on Vietnam was a just war. Thus, the fact that this question was raised indicates that we might have committed a serious political mistake.

Moreover, after we launched the attack on Vietnam in February 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping at one time pointed out that the attack also served to sound the alarm for some of our comrades who used to lead a peaceful life but engaged in internal strife under the stable conditions, thus prompting them to aim their rifles at the enemy abroad and be ready to fight a war on a bigger scale.

While recalling this remark today, we also remember that on his return trip to Beijing, Comrade Deng Xiaoping called a meeting of leading comrades of the Guangzhou and Kunming PLA units in Nanchang city, at which he urged them to be ready to teach Vietnam another lesson along the border. Was this another alarm sounded by Comrade Deng Xiaoping to other comrades who engaged in internal strife?

Since Comrade Deng Xiaoping's declaration that he will remain in the second line, large numbers of veteran cadres have begun to retire. But struggles for power in disguised form have indeed occurred among the central authorities in some localities. The question now is: Is it not too costly to try to achieve stability and unity by fighting a war abroad to (?deal with) the various contradictions. Furthermore, it is very important for everyone to know that such a so-called situation of stability and unity will most likely be an unstable one.

CSO: 4005/618

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REAGAN URGED TO RECONSIDER NEW FEDERALISM PLANS

OW241914 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Washington, 23 Feb (XINHUA)--State and local leaders in the United States have expressed strong reservations and open objection to President Ronald Reagan's "new federalism" plans and called on him to reconsider them.

Reagan announced his "new federalism" plans on January 26 in his State of the Union address.

Currently holding their annual congress in Washington, 36 of the 50 state governors Monday handed the President a signed statement which declared, "The President's federalism proposals contain some elements that are not consistent with existing policy positions of the national governors' association."

Beginning 1984, according to Reagan's proposals, the Federal Government would take over the Medicaid program providing health care of the needy, which is currently financed by both Washington and the states, while the states assume responsibility for more than 40 welfare programs, especially the AFDC (Aid for Families with Dependent Children) and the food stamps for the poor programs.

Speaking for the protesting governors, Utah Governor and head of the governors' association Scott Matheson took exception to the extra financial burden, particularly in light of dwindling federal subsidies caused by Reagan's budget cuts.

Vermont Governor Richard Shelling said the states could not pay for food stamps for the poor and children's welfare in view of major government budget cuts proposed in the budget for the 1983 financial year.

On the same day, the National Association of Counties presented Reagan with a resolution supporting decentralization but rejecting his proposal that the states pay completely for the AFDC program.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'KYODO' CITES SAKURAUCHI ON JAPAN'S SECURITY POLICY

OW241536 Beijing XINHUA in English 1506 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Tokyo, 24 Feb (XINHUA)--Energetic diplomatic efforts, oily and effective application of the Japanese-U.S. security system and the build-up of restrained and high-quality self-defense forces constitute the "three pillars" of Japan's security, said Japanese Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakurauchi today.

KYODO News Service reported that speaking at a meeting of the Japanese House of Representatives special committee on security, Sakurauchi underscored the importance of Western countries' sharing of political, military and economic duties commensurate with their national power and conditions as the world situation became volatile for the sustained Soviet military buildup and the Polish problem.

He called for active diplomatic manoeuvres to eliminate the unstable factors for world peace on the basis of Japanese-U.S. ties of friendship and cooperation centered on the joint security system.

Speaking about Japan's political and economic role, he affirmed that economic cooperation with the developing countries including China and the ASEAN nations is "Japan's responsibility for the international community and a major link of its comprehensive security policy."

Dealing with Japan's relations with the Soviet Union, he considered it essential to carry on strenuous negotiations to alter the regrettable situation resulting from increased Soviet military strength on the northern territories, military involvement in Afghanistan and the Polish situation.

Referring to the implementation of the Japanese-U.S. security system, the Japanese foreign minister expressed his satisfaction over the increased cooperation between the two countries. "It is important to make arrangements for the United States to come to Japan's rescue in the event of an armed attack on our country," Sakurauchi emphasized.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REACTIONS TO PEACE PROPOSAL FOR CENTRAL AMERICA

OW241656 Beijing XINHUA in English 1626 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Beijing, 24 Feb (XINHUA)--Costa Rica, Cuba and the United States have each reacted differently to a peace plan offered by Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo to alleviate tension in Central America.

During his short visit to Managua Sunday, Portillo reportedly called for a negotiated settlement to end the civil war in El Salvador and urged the U.S. Government not to intervene militarily in Nicaragua. He also offered to act as a mediator to open a dialogue between the United States and Cuba.

Responding favorably to Portillo's peace offer, Costa Rican Foreign Minister Bernd Niehaus said Tuesday that "all attitudes, ideas and actions aimed at easing tensions are welcomed" in view of the fact that Central America has now become one of the focal points of world tensions.

So far, this is the first official reaction from any Central American government to the Mexican peace plan.

Niehaus urged the international community and particularly the governments of Central American nations to double their efforts to stop conflicts and bloodshed that continue in the Central American region.

Cuban President Fidel Castro in an open letter to the Mexican President Monday reportedly offered to "work with the United States" on the Mexican peace proposal. But he charged that Washington is "the source of all the problems that today affect Latin America and the Caribbean."

He further raised conditions for a dialogue with the United States, which analysts believe are not acceptable to the U.S. Government. Castro said "Cuba is willing to collaborate" with the United States if the U.S. Government "ends its constant threats, stops using its arms and finances to help genocidal regimes and ceases its subversive activities."

Meanwhile, the U.S. State Department reportedly reacted coolly Tuesday to the Mexican peace plan, saying it could succeed only if Nicaragua ceased arming guerrillas in El Salvador.

State Department spokesman Dean Fischer said Tuesday that Nicaraguan trafficking in arms to Salvadoran guerrillas "has not abated. We have stressed a fundamental point: that any successful effort to address these issues can take place only when Nicaragua ceases its support to the guerrillas in El Salvador. This has not occurred."

Although Fischer made no comment on Castro's charges against the United States, senior officials of the Reagan Administration have repeatedly accused Cuba as "the source" of all troubles in Central America. They also have stressed the need to take "whatever necessary options" to stop arms shipments from Cuba, via Nicaragua, to Salvadoran guerrillas.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EGYPT'S 'ALI WELCOMES CLOSER ARAB RELATIONS

OW240609 Beijing XINHUA in English 0225 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] Cairo, 23 Feb (XINHUA)--Egypt welcomes the restoration of relations with other Arab countries, said Egyptian Deputy Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Kamal Hasan 'Ali in a foreign policy speech at the National Assembly today.

"Any difference at present between Egypt and a number of Arab countries is one "between brothers which will soon vanish and Egypt will inevitably return to its place in the Arab world," he noted. "This does not mean that Egypt will change its policy towards peace."

Referring to President Mubarak's recent visit to Oman and the expected visit of Sultan Qaboos of Oman to Egypt next month, 'Ali said that this development of relations between the two countries "will have its impact on promoting common interest and fostering Arab interest in general." He affirmed Egypt's support for the Gulf cooperation council in its efforts to "foster collective potentials and protect joint security."

On the Palestinian problem, he said that to maintain stability in the region necessitates recognition of the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination. He underlined the importance of American-Palestinian dialogue and Palestinian participation in peace efforts.

Referring to Egyptian-Israeli relations, 'Ali said that an agreement was reached between the two sides on a number of important issues related to the completion of Israeli withdrawal from Sinai and fixing international borders.

"Our peaceful relations with Israel will not prevent us from clearly expressing our stand towards certain acts that threaten peace and security in the area," he said.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CANADA IMPOSES SANCTIONS ON SOVIET UNION, POLAND

OW240832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0724 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Ottawa, 23 Feb (XINHUA)--The Canadian Government today imposed diplomatic, economic and other sanctions on Poland and the Soviet Union in view of the situation in Poland.

Secretary of State for external affairs Mark MacGuigan declared that the programme of Canadian-Polish academic exchanges is being suspended; in reciprocity for the restrictions on the movements of Canadian diplomats in Warsaw, Canada is placing restrictions on representatives of the Polish Government in Canada; Canada will support initiatives within international organizations such as the International Labour Organizations and the United Nations Commission on Human Rights as regards the situation in Poland.

MacGuigan continued that Canada has also decided to extend no new commercial credits for goods other than food to Poland for the time being, to support a delay in holding negotiations on rescheduling repayments of Poland's official debts due in 1982 and to restrict scheduled traffic of Polish airlines to the present frequency of two flights per week.

The minister said: "Canada believes the Soviet Government must be made aware of the concern we share with other members of the (Western) alliance over the Soviet attitude towards developments in Poland. The government has therefore decided to implement the following measures with respect to the Soviet Union: proposals for high level official contacts will be reviewed to determine whether, in the present political climate, they should proceed; anticipated negotiations on a programme of general exchanges in the areas of science, education and culture will be postponed. The government has also decided to delay the proposed meeting of the mixed economic commission; Aeroflot will be limited to its present traffic frequency of two flights per week."

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. ENVOY, EGYPT'S 'ALI DISCUSS PALESTINIANS

OW231852 Beijing XINHUA in English 1842 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] Cairo, 23 Feb (XINHUA)--Richard Fairbanks, U.S. new envoy to the Palestinian autonomy talks, left here today with an agreement under which Egypt and Israel will resume autonomy negotiations on the experts level next month.

Fairbanks held talks with Egyptian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali. He arrived in Cairo Sunday after holding talks with Israeli officials on autonomy issue in Tel Aviv.

Fairbanks only recently was appointed special American representative at the autonomy talks. His appointment came after U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig unsuccessfully visited Israel and Egypt twice in January to break the two-year deadlock in the autonomy talks.

'Ali reportedly told Fairbanks that Egypt adheres to the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and to the position that the Palestinian issue is the crux of the dispute in the Middle East. 'Ali said that only the settlement of the Palestinian issue will bring about a comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

'Ali also was said to have revived the Egyptian demand for Israeli "confidence building" measures in the occupied territories to encourage Palestinians to join in the autonomy talks.

Egypt's and Israel's positions on the autonomy issue are far apart, Egyptian officials said. Israel wants to limit judicial, legislative and administrative rights and exclude Jerusalem from autonomy. Egypt's position is that the territory of the autonomous Palestinian authority must include East Jerusalem, which has been occupied by Israel since 1967.

Commenting on Fairbanks's visit, the (AL-GOMBURIA) newspaper pointed out in an editorial, "Egypt is not negotiating in the name of the Palestinians" and "there can be no retreat, or even bargaining in Egypt's attitude in this issue of destiny."

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EEC DECIDES TO CURB IMPORTS FROM SOVIET UNION

OW240814 Beijing XINHUA in English 0712 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Brussels, 23 Feb (XINHUA)--EEC countries today agreed to cut imports from the Soviet Union as a "clear political sign" of disapproval of its role in Poland.

The decision was announced this evening by Leo Tindemans, Belgian minister of external relations and chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers, at a press conference following a two-day EEC Council meeting.

EEC officials said that the proposed import restrictions would involve luxury goods worth around 900 million dollars a year. The EEC at present imports around 11 billion dollars worth of goods from the Soviet Union.

However, the decision will have no binding force on Greece, which has made clear that it did not approve of sanctions against the Soviet Union over Poland, sources close to the EEC Council said.

Some EEC countries have already restricted movements of Soviet diplomats, and reduced cultural and technical exchanges with the Soviet Union, but they did not immediately respond to a call from the U.S. for trade sanctions against the Soviets.

Tindemans said that the EEC meeting also approved a plan to send 9 million dollars worth of food and other materials to Poles, to be distributed through non-governmental agencies such as the Red Cross. The money comes from funds originally destined for EEC subsidies on official food sales to the Polish Government.

Other items discussed at the meeting included EEC's economic relations with the U.S. and Japan, and matters concerning Portuguese entry into the EEC.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAILAND SCORES USSR BACKING OF SRV AGGRESSION

OW231244 Beijing XINHUA in English 0723 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] Bangkok, 22 Feb (XINHUA)--(Prasong Soonsiri), secretary general of the National Security Council of Thailand, today denounced the Soviet Union for its backing of Vietnamese aggression which endangers the stability and security of Southeast Asia.

(Prason) made this attack at a Thai security officials' meeting while discussing outside factors that may affect Thailand's stability and security.

He said, the Soviet Union is expanding its influence in this region by exploiting the differences and disputes among the Southeast Asian countries. To support Vietnam's military actions in Kampuchea, the Soviet Union has since 1979 provided Vietnam with arms and material including 45 Antonov-26 transport planes worth about two billion U.S. dollars.

(Prasong) said in order to gain more benefits from Southeast Asia, the Soviet Union, hoping to stay forever in the region, will increase its aid to Vietnam, which has mortgaged its own future with the Soviets.

(Prasong) pointed out that military occupation of Kampuchea is a wrong decision on the part of Vietnam and the cause of its grave economic and political difficulties.

He said Thailand and other ASEAN states want to see Vietnam strong and independent. Vietnam should have gone all out to rehabilitate its economy, improve the people's livelihood instead of using its military might to invade and threaten other countries. Vietnam must go to the Kampuchean people to seek a settlement of the Kampuchean problem through consultations.

He stressed that the present development of the situation in Indochina, particularly the fierce fighting in Kampuchea, has seriously affected Thailand's security. And Thailand is prepared to deal stunning blows to any further attempt to violate its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FRG PARLIAMENTARY OFFICIAL VISITS POLAND

OW231706 Beijing XINHUA in English 1639 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Feb (XINHUA)--West Germany and Poland have expressed their concordance of opinions that "Poland should be and is able to solve its present difficulties on her own."

These points were revealed today in a PAP report after a four-day visit to Warsaw by Herbert Wehner, head of the ruling West German Social Democratic Party's parliamentary group.

Wehner was the first senior Western official to visit Poland since martial law was proclaimed in the country December 13. He arrived here last Friday.

Wehner today had a lengthy talk with Polish Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski on "a wide range of problems concerning key international issues and relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany," PAP said.

During his visit to Poland, he also held discussions with Kazimierz Barcikowski and Stefan Olszowski, Politburo members of the Polish United Workers' Party and Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek.

PAP said that Wehner and Polish leaders pointed out, "The harmfulness of attempts to make an instrumental use of Poland's domestic hardships for inflaming the international situation."

Wehner's visit was aimed "at seeing Poland's situation with his own eyes," West German Social Democratic Party chairman Willy Brandt said Monday. Wehner left here for West Germany today.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SINGAPORE PAPER SCORES SOVIET INFILTRATION

OW231858 Beijing XINHUA in English 1847 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] Hong Kong, 23 Feb (XINHUA)--The Singapore newspaper SIN CHEW JIT POH today strongly accused the Soviet Union of increasing espionage activities in Southeast Asia, according to news reports from Singapore.

The Singapore Government Monday expelled Soviet diplomat Anatoliy Alekseyevich Larkin, second secretary of the Soviet Embassy, and Alexander Alexandrovich, Soviet marine super-intendent, on charges of espionage.

The newspaper said this was the first time Soviet diplomats and government functionaries have been expelled from Singapore.

The newspaper stressed that the expulsion of seven Soviet nationals for espionage activities in Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore within seven months shows Soviet expansion has been extended to Southeast Asia.

In the past few years, the newspaper said, the Association for Southeast Asian Nations has become a strong regional organization for political and economic cooperation, strongly opposing the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Soviet-backed aggression against Kampuchea by Vietnam.

In order to expand its naval forces in the Pacific and ensure that its fleet can pass through the Strait of Malacca, the Soviet Union has to pay attention to the development of ASEAN countries, which lie between the Pacific and Indian oceans, the newspaper added.

The newspaper described many espionage activities carried out by the Soviet Union and reminded businessmen to be cautious when dealing with Soviets.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPAN TO IMPOSE NEW SANCTIONS AGAINST USSR

OW231704 Beijing XINHUA in English 1646 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] Tokyo, 23 Feb (XINHUA)--Japan decided today to impose new sanctions against the Soviet Union and Poland because of the continuation of martial law in the East European country.

The sanctions announced by Chief Cabinet Secretary Kiichi Miyazawa after Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki's cabinet approved them include: indefinite postponement of annual Soviet-Japanese talks on trade and payment; denial of the Soviet request to open a new trade representative office in Osaka; restrictions on personnel exchanges under a Japanese-Soviet science and technology agreement; and curbs on preferential visa treatment for Soviet officials visiting Japan.

The measures came after Western countries including the United States, Britain, West Germany and Belgium had announced similar steps.

"Unity and cooperation among Western countries are of utmost importance in coping with the Polish question," Miyazawa said.

He also said that Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakurauchi stressed at the cabinet meeting the need to maintain such cooperation and unity among Western nations.

These new sanctions against the Soviet Union and Poland are being taken in addition to the three-point sanctions imposed on the Soviet Union in early 1980 shortly after Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan. These three sanctions were restrictions on new export credits, a curb on personnel exchanges and the withholding of exports of high technology to the Soviet Union.

The new sanctions against Poland include indefinite postponement of talks to reschedule outstanding Polish debts due this year; withholding of talks between the two governments regarding new credits; and travel restrictions on Polish Embassy personnel which, according to Miyazawa, have been in effect since February 11.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEW DELHI CONSULTATIONS STRESS COOPERATION

OW231911 Beijing XINHUA in English 1852 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] New Delhi, 23 Feb (XINHUA)--Delegates attending the New Delhi consultations are pinning strong hope on economic cooperation among the developing countries and held that meaningful and applicable cooperation among themselves are conducive to establishment of a new international economic order.

Speaking at the plenary session today, leader of the Iraqi delegation Kh. (Al-Shamma) said: "Iraq has always believed that economic cooperation among developing countries constitutes an important element in setting up a new international economic order." He suggested that in order to have meaningful cooperation, the decisions to be taken by the developing countries "must be practical and applicable", otherwise, they will have "a hollow ring about them." He condemned imperialism for controlling and plundering "the wealth of the Third World" by mounting tension and conflict the world over.

Leader of the Iranian delegation Ardili welcomed the New Delhi consultations which, he said, should be held regularly and frequently among the developing countries. He declared that Iran is prepared to be the host of next year's conference.

Leader of the Kenya delegation F.N. Ondieki expressed dissatisfaction with a few Western nations for refusing to join in the consensus to get the global negotiations started. He said as one of the viable alternatives for this, the developing countries should intensify the already existing economic and technical cooperation among themselves. He suggested such areas as trade in manufactured products, industrialization, transfer of appropriate technology, food and agriculture, and training and manpower development for cooperation.

Leader of the Philippine delegation Manuel Collantes said: "South-South cooperation is important to strengthening of the position of the Group of 77. Collective self-reliance is a first principle. We must put our own house in order if we must make a meaningful impact on others."

Leader of the Tanzanian delegation Ndugu F.D. Mbaga called for mobilizing "stronger political will for South-South cooperation." He said economic cooperation among the developing countries will "not only contribute to the development of our countries but would also reduce our dependence on the developed countries for economic development."

Taking the floor at the plenary session today were delegates from Egypt, Colombia, Ecuador, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Madagascar, Iraq and Iran.

While the plenary session was going on, the two committees formed by the plenary session held frank and lively consultations. According to the spokesman of the consultations, committee one discussed global negotiations, food, trade, energy and aid problems while committee two considered ways and means to stimulate action for the implementation of the Caracas program and other action programs agreed upon at previous meetings.

The two committees will continue their discussions tonight to finalize the reports to the plenary session tomorrow.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' NOTES 'QUARRELS' BETWEEN U.S., W. EUROPE

OW231553 Beijing XINHUA in English 1530 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] Beijing, 23 Feb (XINHUA)--Quarrels have flared up between the United States and West European countries over the past one week or more.

The quarrels were touched off, first of all, by West European countries' concern about the impact on them of the Reagan Administration's economic policy. A report presented by the EEC Monetary Committee to last week's meeting of the finance ministers in Brussels made it clear that the EEC countries had good reasons to worry about three points of the U.S. policy: the Federal Reserve's reliance on narrow targets for monetary supply control, which brings high interest rates that will lure money out of Europe and choke off economic recovery there; a fiscal policy entailing huge budget deficits and therefore expectations that rates will remain high; and the U.S. policy of non-intervention on the foreign exchanges, which leaves to its allies the burden of trying to preserve currency stability. The concern was conveyed to the Reagan Administration by West European ministers who virtually queued up in Washington last week, including Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens, the current chairman of the European Council, Luxembourg Foreign Minister Colette Flesch, West German Economic Minister Otto Lambsdorff and Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo. Flesch told American newsmen that if the U.S. were to continue its go-it-alone approach, then a "confrontation" with Europe could not be ruled out. However, since the U.S. Government has by far shown no intention to change its economic policy, West European countries are prepared to voice their disapproval of the policy again.

The deal of natural gas is another cause of their quarrels. A number of West European countries have signed agreements with the Soviet Union which will be granted large sums of long-term and low-interest credits for the purchase of Western technology and equipment for the construction of a 5,500-kilometre-long gas pipeline from Siberia to Western Europe. As a means of repayment of the principal and interest, the Soviet Union will deliver 40 billion cubic metres of natural gas to Western Europe each year beginning 1984, which accounts for 30 per cent of Western Europe's total energy imports. The United States has, from the outset, been opposed to the deal, saying that it would help strengthen the Soviet economic and military potentialities.

U.S. President Reagan told a Norwegian correspondent last Thursday, "Dependency on Soviet gas can hurt the coherence within the Western alliance and also affect

our capabilities of responding to Soviet aggression." French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy took exception to such views. He said that the Americans, who have been doing a large grain trade with the Soviets, have no right to lecture energy-deficient countries. Defending the West German stand, Economic Minister Otto Lambsdorff said that the pipeline would provide only five or six per cent of West German energy. He denied that this would make Western Europe heavily dependent on Soviet energy.

It seems difficult for Europe and America to reach agreement on this issue. Luxembourg Deputy Prime Minister Colette Flesch said last Tuesday in Washington, "It's altogether legitimate that the United States should try to stop the deal, but some of the countries have gone too far for that." It will be "almost impossible" to halt the arrangements for the deal, she added. The deal is likely to remain unaffected, no matter what attitude the United States may adopt in the days to come.

Still another issue of contention is about sanctions against Poland and the Soviet Union. After martial law was imposed in Poland, Washington has announced a series of economic sanctions against Warsaw and Moscow and asked its allies in Europe to take similar actions. But so far, only Britain, West Germany and Belgium have adopted certain restrictive measures. It appears that no other countries would follow suit. West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said on February 11 in Bonn that the Polish crisis was not "the cardinal, central problem" in East-West relations. Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans said recently, "Trouble comes when you speak of applying sanctions...there is agreement on not making new contracts with Poland, but...old contracts should be honored."

In face of the reality, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig asked Americans to understand the position of their European allies so as to steer clear of the danger of turning the Polish crisis into an Atlantic Alliance crisis. In an interview published in the February 22 issue of BUSINESS WEEK, he said that maintaining Western unity is "the best pressure" on the Soviets and that "to split Europe from the U.S." is the whole strategy of the Soviet Union.

Despite their differences on many issues, the United States and Western Europe are trying to seek common ground and preserve their unity to counter the mounting Soviet threat. They will carry on their consultations by various means. The Versailles summit in France of the seven major Western industrialized nations and the Bonn summit of the NATO countries, both to be held next June, will provide an opportunity for the allies to give fuller consideration to their strategic interests and to coordinate their policies.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CEAUSESCU MEETS WITH POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER

OW231116 Beijing XINHUA in English 0704 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] Bucharest, 22 Feb (XINHUA)--Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the republic, today expressed his conviction that the Polish people can solve their own problems by closing their ranks, concentrating efforts on economy recovery and strengthening discipline, reports the Romanian News Agency.

Ceausescu expressed his views to Jozef Czyrek, foreign minister of Poland and member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, who was on a short visit to the Romanian capital. He informed Ceausescu of the Polish situation.

Reiterating Romania's position on the Polish problem, Ceausescu said that the Polish people are capable of settling the existing problems and ensuring the country's march along the road of socialism and progress so long as they close their ranks, pool their strength to recover the economy and strengthen social order and discipline, and unite with all forces that are struggling for the improvement of the country's socialist and democratic development.

Both Ceausescu and Czyrek expressed the hope that the bilateral relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Poland would be broadened in the political, economic, scientific and technological and cultural fields in the interest of socialist construction. They also voiced the resolve to work for more positive cooperation in the diplomatic field in contribution to international cooperation and world security and peace.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI RADIO COMMENTS ON NGUYEN CO THACH STATEMENT

OW221847 Beijing XINHUA in English 1834 GMT 22 Feb 82

[Text] Bangkok, 22 Feb (XINHUA)--There are contradictions in Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach's recent statement at a foreign minister conference attended by Vietnam, Laos and the Heng Samrin regime in Vientiane, said "Voice of Free Asia" in a commentary here today.

In his statement, Nguyen Co Thach said "Vietnam respects the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Thailand."

However, the commentary said "Thailand's sovereignty and territorial integrity is violated almost daily by artillery shells, mortars and small arms being fired at Thailand by Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. Not only has there been property damage and loss of lives, but villages on the Thai-Lampuchean border have had to be evacuated and have not been able to lead normal lives."

The commentary said one result of Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea more than three years ago "is that Vietnam's western border, instead of ending at Kampuchea, now extends across Kampuchea and reaches the Thai border. Therefore since 1979 there have been heavily armed Vietnamese troops on the Thai-Kampuchean border hundreds of kilometres from Vietnam."

The commenatry said Vietnam has occupied Kampuchea with some 200,000 troops, which have met growing resistance from patriotic nationalist Kampuchean forces.

"Thailand is sympathetic to these nationalist forces because Thailand along with the world's other peace-loving countries cannot accept that one country can use military force to overthrow the government of another country because that government holds policies which it does not like," the commentary said.

"We would like to emphasize that we would believe such a statement once all Vietnamese troops have been withdrawn from Kampuchea. No Vietnamese troops can then fire into Thailand and no border patrol policemen of the Thai troops would then be killed."

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

RCP, LCY LEADERS URGE WORLD TENSION ELIMINATION

OW221352 Beijing XINHUA in English 1211 GMT 22 Feb 82

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Feb (XINHUA). --The party leaders of Romania and Yugoslavia have joined in calling for the elimination of the existing exacerbated international tension and the settlement of disputes through negotiations, the ROMANIAN NEWS AGENCY reported today.

In a three-day meeting ending in the northwest Romanian city of Timisoara today, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Nicolae Ceausescu and president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Dusan Dragosavac and a wide-ranging and deep-going exchange of views on the international situation and the communist and workers' movement. They also informed each other of their country's economy and party's work.

Expressing their concern over the serious threat to peace, security, independence and sovereignty of the people of various countries, they pointed out that the continued and intensified pursuance of the policy of force, domination and intervention and of interference in other countries' internal affairs and attempts to re-divide spheres of influence account for the deterioration of international tension.

Under such circumstances, they emphasized, all countries and peoples should exert greater efforts than ever before to relieve the tension, ban the use of force and the threat of force in international relations and strive to seek negotiated solutions to international disputes on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for national independence, state sovereignty, equality and non-interference in internal affairs.

With regard to the European situation, they held that today's fundamental issue is to check the armament race, stop the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles and dismantle the existing ones, and effect arms reduction, nuclear reduction in the first place, without delay. They underscored the importance of broadening bilateral and multilateral cooperation among the Balkan nations and making the peninsula a peaceful and nuclear-free zone.

Discussing the international communist and workers' movement, the Romanian and Yugoslav parties reaffirmed their determination to foster closer cooperation with other communist, socialist and social-democratic parties, liberation movements and all other democratic and progressive forces in the struggle for peace, freedom, independence, democracy and human progress.

It was also stressed during the talks that each party and movement has the right to pursue its own political line and revolutionary strategy and tactics in the light of the specific conditions of each country.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LOPEZ PORTILLO OFFERS MEDIATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA

OW221646 Beijing XINHUA in English 1623 GMT 22 Feb 82

[Text] Beijing, 22 Feb (XINHUA)--Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo Sunday offered his assistance in easing Central America's tension, according to reports from Managua.

Lopez Portillo arrived in Managua yesterday for a 9-hour visit. Addressing a crowd of about 50,000 people in Managua's Plaza of the Revolution, Lopez Portillo said that Mexico wanted to help unravel the "three knots that tie up the search for peace" in the region--the Salvadoran conflict, mutual suspicion between the United States and Nicaragua and hostility between the United States and Cuba.

The president suggested that negotiations be held through different channels so that a climate of detente, democracy and stability could be created in the region.

The preconditions he put forward included: All concerned parties should make substantial concessions and no country should be forced to give up principles and vital interests.

On U.S.-Cuban relations, he hoped that the two countries would continue with the line laid by the U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig and Cuban Vice President Carlos Rodriguez during their dialogue last November and make their negotiations possible.

Lopez Portillo urged the United States not to intervene militarily in Central America, particularly in Nicaragua. He also urged the Reagan Administration to disarm Nicaraguan rebels training in the United States and sign a non-aggression pact with Nicaragua. Lopez Portillo said his proposal was "serious and practical". He believed that all differences could be solved through negotiations.

Lopez Portillo said what Mexico was defending are the principles that peoples should have the right to self-determination and the sovereignty of each country should be respected.

The trip was Lopez Portillo's third to Nicaragua since the Somoza dictatorship was overthrown in 1979.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VARIOUS DELEGATES SPEAK AT NEW DELHI CONFERENCE

OW221930 Beijing XINHUA in English 1855 GMT 22 Feb 82

[Text] New Delhi, 23 Feb (XINHUA)--Delegates attending the New Delhi consultations at the first plenary session here today stressed the need for stepping up economic cooperation among the developing countries and called for a global round of North-South negotiations at an early date.

Delegation leaders from Kuwait, Mexico, Yugoslavia, China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Bangladesh, Romania and Venezuela spoke at the session.

The leader of the Romanian delegation Marian Traistary stressed the need to launch global negotiations. He said, "In our opinion, global negotiations are the most appropriate framework for tackling the major international economic issues." He said, "with a view to attaining the major objectives, the developing countries should consolidate their negotiating capability, strengthen their solidarity and act steadily in complete unity and in a spirit of understanding."

Leader of the Mexican delegation J. E. Navarette emphasized unity among the Group of 77 which has a membership of more than 120 countries. He said, "The unity of the Group of 77 has become a target of strategy of the developing countries."

The leader of the Kuwaiti delegation Faysal al-Khalid expressed the hope that the conference would produce workable proposals initiating action and leading to expanding economic and social cooperation among the Third World countries. He proposed that efforts be made at the meeting to create an effective organ that would be able to prepare necessary studies and follow-up recommendations and measures for enhancing collective action.

The DPRK delegation expressed deep concern over the deteriorating world economic situation. Vice-Foreign Minister and leader of the Korean delegation Kim Chong-il said: "The rigid and tense relations between the North and the South in the contemporary world economic structure gravely affect the national economic development of the developing countries as well as the economic life of humanity as a whole." He said that the developing countries must strengthen and develop unity and cooperation among themselves and strive to solve North-South issues in all fairness, so as to establish a new international economic order.

Leader of the Bangladesh delegation Choudhury said that the world economy which is facing a continued crisis has hit the least developed countries the hardest and called for urgent restructuring of the global economy.

Leader of the Yugoslav delegation Kazimir Vidas said that the present situation demands that the developing countries undertake a new and urgent action in order to consolidate their unity, find prompt solutions to acute problems faced by a number of developing countries, while striving for establishment of a new international economic relationship. He said: "We must pursue the struggle for a new international economic order with great determination and full self-confidence."

A spokesman of the Indian External Ministry told reporters that no decisions would come from the New Delhi meeting. It was intended to hold consultations and exchange views which would be put forward to the Group of 77.

He stated that India was confident that the conference would help bring about agreement on positive steps to enlarge cooperation among the developing countries. "We are trying to reconcile the differing perceptions and views on a global round of negotiations," he said.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GANDHI OUTLINES PROGRAM AT NEW DELHI CONFERENCE

OW221543 Beijing XINHUA in English 1519 GMT 22 Feb 82

[Text] New Delhi, 22 Feb (XINHUA)--Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in her inauguration speech today at the New Delhi consultations on North-South relations and South-South cooperation, put a nine-point program for consideration to help international cooperation:

1. Agreement of the immediate launching of global negotiations.
2. Increased food production in developing countries.
3. Reversal of the present disturbing trend in the flow of assistance, particularly concessional assistance, from developed to developing countries.
4. Strengthening multilateral cooperation.
5. Devising mechanisms to finance the development of energy resources in developing countries.
6. Speedy adoption and implementation of schemes, including regional arrangements to lighten the financial burden of increased oil prices and to ensure supplies of oil to developing countries.
7. Provision of financial support for the balance of payments problems in the transitional stage of oil importing developing countries.
8. Reversing protectionist trends.
9. Development of solidarity and collective self-reliance of developing countries to reduce their vulnerability to pressures from and events in affluent countries.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOUTH-SOUTH MEETING OPENS; PRC DELEGATION ATTENDS

OW221247 Beijing XINHUA in English 1218 GMT 22 Feb 82

[Text] New Delhi, 22 Feb (XINHUA)--The new Delhi consultations of developing countries (South-South conference) began in the Vigyan Bhavan (Science Hall) here today.

More than 40 countries participated in the conference sponsored by India. Its 3-day meeting will consider steps for strengthening mutual cooperation and explore measures to give an impulse to the proposed global negotiations.

A Chinese delegation led by Vice-Foreign Minister Pu Shouchang attended the conference as a special invitee.

Indian Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi inaugurated the conference. Tanzanian President J. Nyerere was present.

In her speech, Mrs Gandhi called for the "immediate launching of global negotiations" and stressed "solidarity and collective self-reliance of developing countries."

Speaking of the purpose of the conference, she said: "We have a common obligation to assess what contribution is possible to resolve issues of immediate importance as well as those of medium and long-term relevance", "cooperation among ourselves is an essential part of, and an instrument for, the building of a new international economic order based on justice and equality," she added.

Referring to global negotiations, she said: "The very nature of the problems of the world economy demands cooperation between the North and the South. Economic cooperation among developing countries cannot possibly relieve the industrialised countries of their responsibilities and commitment towards developing countries." She stated that interdependence is the rationale of the relations between the North and the South and the global negotiations should be wide-ranging and cover all major areas.

Speaking of South-South cooperation, she said that the critical problems which confront the developing countries have been identified and possible solutions discussed. This meeting can, therefore, look straightaway into urgent measures for food security, financial flows and energy.

She said the resolution on policy guidelines to reinforce collective self-reliance among developing countries was a significant stage in the process of economic co-operation among developing countries. "It set in motion a chain of decisions and activities," she added.

A greeting message from U.N. Secretary-General Javier-Perez de Cueliar was read out at the conference.

After the inauguration, the conference began its first plenary session and created two committees, one dealing with South-North issues and the other for South-South cooperation.

The conference was convened against the background that the world economic situation has deteriorated, world trade has become more unfavourable to the developing country, the existing out-moded monetary and other systems need urgent reform and no essential progress has been made towards global negotiations.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN GENEVA DELEGATES CONDEMN USSR, SRV AGGRESSION

OW200720 Beijing XINHUA in English 0703 GMT 20 Feb 82

[XINHUA headline: "U.N. Commission Meeting Continues To Condemn Soviet and Vietnamese Aggressions"]

[Text] Geneva, 19 Feb (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union and Vietnam continued to be the targets of attack by delegates attending the 39th session of the U.N. Human Rights Commission.

Speaking at today's plenary meeting, the delegate of Thailand Pracha Guna-kasem said, "Illegal foreign occupation and deprivation of the basic right of self-determination in Kampuchea constituted a serious threat to international peace and security." "So long as the conflict in Kampuchea remains unresolved, there could be no peace and stability in South-East Asia," he noted.

"The situation in Afghanistan was yet another case where the fundamental right to self-determination had been trampled underfoot," the Thai delegate said. He said that the Soviet Union had so far paid no heed whatsoever to the calls of the international community to withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan so as to allow the Afghan people to determine their own future.

The delegate of the United Kingdom Richard Fursland said that the invasion of Afghanistan was a naked violation of that country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Cambodian people were similarly being denied their right to self-determination by occupying forces, he added. "The primary violation of this right was the presence in Cambodia of foreign forces," he stressed. "The withdrawal of these forces was the prerequisite for the restoration of these rights to the people of Cambodia."

The delegate of the United States Richard Schifter pointed out that two years and two months after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, "the puppet regime and the foreign occupier are still in place, depriving the people of Afghanistan of the right to self-determination." He said that the Soviet invasion proved that it was committed to a policy of hegemonism. He called on the international community to examine the evidence that lethal and casulaty producing chemical weapons are being used in Afghanistan.

The American delegate said that Kampuchea was also suffering from "foreign occupation and the continued deprivation of its right of self-determination as well as of other human rights by an agent of hegemonism."

The delegate of Democratic Kampuchea Te Sun Hoa in his statement said that Vietnam was pursuing expansionism in collusion with the Soviet Union. He exposed Vietnam's use of deadly chemical weapons in Kampuchea. He pointed out that these weapons were supplied by the Soviet Union. He also appealed to the international community to stop granting economic aid to Vietnam.

The delegates from West Germany and Italy also condemned the Soviet Union and Vietnam.

The delegates of the Soviet Union and Vietnam in their lengthy statements attempted to justify their aggressive acts in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. At the same time they made vicious, slanderous attacks on Pakistan, the Philippines, China and many other countries. But their slanders were flatly refuted by the delegates of these countries.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA CONDEMNS VIENTIANE MEETING

OW211212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Text] Beijing, 21 Feb (XINHUA)--"The conference of the foreign ministers of three Indochinese countries" which ended in Vientiane on February 17 is nothing but a farce staged by Hanoi, said the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of Democratic Kampuchea on February 18.

His statement broadcast by Radio Democratic Kampuchea today points out that the Vientiane conference is a continuation of the consistent criminal Hanoi scheme to gloss over the Kampuchean problem resulted [as received] from Vietnamese aggression as merely a dispute between Thailand and Vietnam.

The statement says the conference also shows that the Vietnamese authorities refuse to implement the United Nations resolutions demanding the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, and try to divide the ranks of the peace- and justice-loving countries, particularly the ASEAN countries, which support the struggle of the Kampuchean people and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, with a view to stopping their support for the Kampuchean people's struggle and thus alleviating the pressures on Hanoi.

The statement says, "At present, there is no sign that the Vietnamese authorities will withdraw their troops from Kampuchea in accordance with the U.N. resolution. On the contrary, they are continuing to pursue the policy to suppress and kill the Kampuchean people in the war of aggression they have unleashed in an attempt to annex Kampuchean territory and liquidate the Kampuchean nation. All Vietnamese moves and proposals only serve Hanoi's purpose to force the international community into recognizing the fait accompli of its aggression. It is well known that the Vietnamese authorities have always resorted to all sorts of schemes and intrigues in an attempt to divert world attention whenever they are faced with difficulties."

The statement concludes that the Democratic Kampuchean Government firmly believes that the peace-loving and justice-holding countries in the world will continue to support the Kampuchean people's just struggle and take powerful measures to force the Vietnamese authorities to withdraw all their troops from Kampuchea.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI SPOKESMAN REJECTS VIENTIANE TALKS PROPOSAL

OW191552 Beijing XINHUA in English 1515 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Bangkok, 19 Feb (XINHUA)--Thailand today rejected the regional peace talks proposal put forward by Vietnam, Laos and the Heng Samrin regime of Phnom Penh at a meeting of their foreign ministers in Vientiane earlier this week.

Addressing a press conference, Thai Foreign Ministry spokesman Chet Sutcharitkun said that the offer for a partial withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea contravenes the United Nations resolution calling for the total, unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from that country.

He said that the three "foreign ministers" in their proposal expressed "readiness" to talk with Thailand and the other ASEAN countries for the partial military withdrawal from Kampuchea and for the stabilization of the situation in the Kampuchean-Thai border areas. But, he pointed out that this offer is not different from Vietnam's earlier proposal for establishing a demilitarized zone in the Kampuchean-Thai border areas, which has been turned down by Thailand.

Chet said: "Thailand has no contradictions with Kampuchea. What has happened in Kampuchea today is something between Vietnam and Kampuchea, not one between Thailand and Kampuchea or Vietnam. Hence, the demilitarized zone must be established on the Kampuchean-Vietnamese border rather than the Kampuchean-Thai border."

Referring to the Kampuchean-Thai border situation, he said the present fighting on the other side of the Kampuchean-Thai border and the adverse effect it has had on Thailand's security and stability are the result of Vietnam's aggression against Kampuchea.

He expressed the belief that for Vietnam the war in Kampuchea is one impossible to win. So long as Vietnam hands on in that country, the resistance struggle of the Kampuchean patriotic forces will continue, he stressed.

Chet declared that Thailand does not like to be an enemy of Vietnam. What Thailand hopes to see is the stability and prosperity of Vietnam and the pullout of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea to pave the way for a political solution of the Kampuchean problem. This conforms with the interests of both Southeast Asian countries and Vietnam, he pointed out.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'NODONG SINMUN' DENOUNCES U.S. ARMS BUILDUP

OW201238 Beijing XINHUA in English 1227 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Pyongyang, 20 Feb (XINHUA)--U.S. arms buildup in South Korea is an "open challenge to the peaceful proposal put forth by the North and a menace of peace in Korea and Asia", said the Korean paper NODONG SINMUN in a commentary today.

The commentary says that the United States plans to deploy another 18 "A 10" close support planes and an air force strength of 1,200 men in South Korea by early March and bring there an additional 24 "A 10" close support planes in the second half of the year. It also intends to deploy "Q.A. 37" [as received] planes. At the same time, the U.S. Defence Department announced on February 17 that it would transfer 170 improved Hawk missiles and 723 rockets to the South Korean puppets.

The commentary points out the U.S. claim that their arms buildup in South Korea is intended to "offset the numerical superiority" of someone and maintain "military equilibrium" is nothing but a veil for justifying their arms buildup and war moves in South Korea.

"The United States should give up its indiscreet and dangerous policy of military adventures against our people and withdraw from South Korea without delay its troops and all the aggression forces including nuclear arms", concludes the commentary.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAILAND'S 'ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY' SCORES RESULTS

OW200840 Beijing XINHUA in English 0819 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Bangkok, 20 Feb (XINHUA)--Thailand's "economic diplomacy" has gained initial results since its launching by the Thai Government last August.

"Economic diplomacy" as has been explained by Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila and Secretary-General of the Thai National Committee for Economic and Social Development Snoh Unakul, implies: Diplomacy serves economy; the Foreign Ministry helps the Ministry of Commerce and other economic departments seek wider overseas markets; Thai embassies abroad should attach importance to economic work so that economic cooperation with other countries will be strengthened, foreign investment absorbed, advanced technology introduced and more tourists attracted.

To put "the economic diplomacy" into practice, Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon has led his ministers in charge of economic affairs in visiting Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Japan on separate occasion since last August. Meanwhile, Deputy Prime Ministers Praman Adireksan and Thanat Khoman, Foreign Minister Sitthi, commerce and industry ministers and other senior government officials have respectively visited quite a number of countries in Asia, Europe, America and the Middle East region. In addition, the Thai Government also summoned Thai ambassadors in various countries in Europe, Africa and the Middle East region and briefed them on the economic situation at home and the requirements under the "economic diplomacy".

All these diplomatic activities of the Thai Government particularly Prime Minister Prem's visit to the United States and Japan have obtained for Thailand over four billion U.S. dollars of loans, over 11 million U.S. dollars of aid and a promise of 20 billion Japanese yen of investment from a number of Japanese financial groups, which come to more than one third of the total foreign capital needed in the fifth economic and social development programme budget of Thailand.

With the unfolding of the "economic diplomacy" which calls for the increase of competitiveness of Thailand's commodities in the world market, the Thai Government has proclaimed a devaluation of Thai currency, the baht, by 8.7 percent to the U.S. dollar, and free export of rice and maize, a cut in export tariff and freight charges. Special funds have been established which provide financial support for boosting export. Thanks to these measures, Thailand's export of agricultural products and some other commodities in the latter half of last year gave a better show, and the total export value of last year was up 14.8 percent over the previous year.

With the efforts of the tourist authorities in Thailand and the help of Thai diplomatic missions abroad, tourist industry in this country recorded marked development last year, receiving more than two million foreign tourists, or an increase of 11 percent over the previous year. Foreign exchange earnings from the tourist industry are next only to that of rice export in Thailand.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BERLINGUER VIEWS DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PCI, CPSU

OW211609 Beijing XINHUA in English 1554 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Text] Rome, 21 Feb (XINHUA)--General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer of the Italian Communist Party [PCI] outlined the party's position toward the Soviet Union in an interview published today in L'UNITA.

On Moscow's refusal to publish articles by the Italian Communist Party, Berlinguer said, "It is not conducive to a genuine and constructive discussion to distort our positions and refuse to tell the Soviet people of these positions or publish any of our documents, statements and articles, not even in the form of excerpts."

On the Soviet Communist Party view that it is the Central Party, he said the Soviet Union has "endowed itself with the role as the center of the world and the global forum in an attempt to determine if the thoughts and actions of this or that party are correct. As you have pointed out in your paper, there exists a demand for judging politics and ideology in their highest form. This demand has been derived from the 'leading' role that has not been abandoned. But all this has been unpractical for long and has, therefore, not been accepted."

In reference to the "motive force" of East European countries, Berlinguer said, "We do not intend to revise history or negate the significance of the great event of the October Revolution and its enormous influence on the struggle for freedom and liberation throughout the world. We are also successors to this event."

"The fundamental thoughts and values shown by the October Revolution remain valid so far as all the progressive and socialist forces are concerned, he said, "and they are surely valid so far as we ourselves are concerned. This view of ours involves the specific development of a certain process, which gradually appears in the Soviet Union and is interwoven with the phenomena of success and retrogression. It more directly involves the actual social conditions, the pattern of power and the actual conditions of political-social relations at the present stage in the Soviet Union and other European countries, which have changed their social and political systems and adopted the mode of the Soviet Union after the Second World War."

Berlinguer said the motive force propelling socialist development and the course of revolution has been transferred elsewhere.

He said, "Under the present situation, any policy which is designed to expand any kind of spheres of influence, including that of the Soviet Union, by force would be contradicted to the supreme interest of peace and of socialism itself. The old principle that revolution (like counter-revolution) cannot be exported contains new meaning today because the position is linked with the overall fate of peace. Being actuated by whatever motives, therefore, the armed intervention like that of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan can only result in an aggravation of international relations and damage to the image of socialism itself."

When explaining why the Italian Communist Party uses the concept of "the third road" to substitute "the democratic road of the Italy type to socialism," Berlinguer said, "We use the concept to emphasize that the Italian Communist Party is striving to open up a new stage of the development of socialism within the boundary of Europe."

"'The third road' means a course of our unity with all parts of the West European workers and people movements in striving forward," he said.

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

INDIAN PAPERS WELCOME 'NEW DELHI CONSULTATIONS'

OW211305 Beijing XINHUA in English 1242 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Text] New Delhi, 21 Feb (XINHUA)--On the eve of "New Delhi consultations" (South-South conference), the Indian press calls for solidarity among South countries at the global negotiations for a new international economic order.

The Indian papers pointed out today that "Delhi meet is to review the Third World strategy," that "it may help to promote South-North understanding," and that "it will provide an in-depth discussion on mutual cooperation and set the pace for global negotiations."

NATIONAL HERALD said in an article that as the global economic situation had become worse, "the South must reduce it's vulnerability to the North. Self-reliance is the only road before them."

The article held that the South-South cooperation has been making some progress. "We certainly can exchange our technological and scientific experience as also financial resources. Let us begin somewhere, where it will be of mutual benefit."

HINDUSTAN TIMES said in an article that "Common developmental approach and regional cooperation may prove to be the basic tools of the success of South-South dialogue."

THE HINDU said in an editorial that "The richer nations as a group have so far been cool to South-South consultations." The paper hoped the New Delhi conference would attain some specific results that "will not hurt any country's feelings."

Indian newspapers welcome China's participation in the conference. TRIBUNE said in an article entitled "Chinese Support to Third World" that China has close ties with the Group of 77 countries which "It sees as a real force within the U.N." "China is urging the North to cooperate with the South in their own interest so as to conform with the trend of time".

CSO: 4000/65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SINGAPORE FOREIGN MINISTER VIEWS VIENTIANE OFFER

OW191948 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Bangkok, 19 Feb (XINHUA)--Singapore Foreign Minister Suppiah Dhanabalan said here today there was nothing new in the latest regional peace talks proposal submitted by the foreign ministers of Vietnam, Laos and Heng Samrin regime at a meeting held in Vientiane earlier this week.

In their proposal, they expressed "readiness" to talk with Thailand and the other four ASEAN countries for a partial military withdrawal from Kampuchea and for the stabilization of the situation in the Kampuchean-Thai border areas.

Dhanabalan arrived here this morning for a brief visit to talk to Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila about further steps which ASEAN could take to solve the Kampuchean problem and some regional and international issues.

Dhanabalan said at Bangkok's airport before his departure that the proposal tries again to make the Kampuchean problem into a direct problem between Thailand and Kampuchea. The Kampuchean problem is a problem of the direct occupation of Kampuchea by the Vietnamese troops. Vietnam has been doing its best to avert world attention from what is the central problem and makes it as if it is a border problem between Thailand and Kampuchea. These are quite different problems."

Replying to a question about Singapore's attitude toward Vietnam's incursions into the Thai territory, Dhanabalan said "The Vietnamese military deployment is a violation of the Thai territorial integrity and sovereignty. Thailand is our friend and a member of ASEAN. Vietnam's incursions constitute the danger we have always pointed out."

The Singapore foreign minister expressed hope that the proposed Beijing meeting of the Kampuchean resistance forces will make some progress.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EGYPT'S PRIME MINISTER MAKES POLICY STATEMENT

OW201903 Beijing XINHUA in English 1850 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Cairo, 20 Feb (XINHUA)--Egyptian Prime Minister Ahmad Fu'ad Muhyi al-Din declared in a policy statement at the People's Assembly today that the policy of non-alignment is the main foundation in Egypt's foreign drive.

He said: "Egypt is ready for cooperation with all states on the basis of equality and mutual respect." He added that "the security of the area should spring from its states and through its own defense capabilities."

Muhyi al-Din said that Egypt remains committed to the peace march after the final Israeli withdrawal from Sinai next April 25, its aim being a comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East.

He expressed support for the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, saying that the Palestinian question is the core of the Middle East conflict and actions to solve it should always be accorded to secure an all-out peace and stability.

Talking about the Palestinian autonomy negotiations, he said that Egypt cannot relinquish any rights which are not her own, nor can she cede all or part of these rights. He called for a dialogue between the United States and representatives of the Palestinian people and stressed a constructive European role in contributing to a Middle East solution.

He reiterated Egypt's support for the role of the Gulf Cooperation Council in maintaining security and stability in the area.

He said that Egypt will remain an Arab and Islamic state. Stressing Egypt's relations with African countries, he said "Egypt affirms its keenness to bolster the Organization of African Unity and consolidate the constructive role it undertakes."

The Egyptian prime minister expressed appreciation for the economic and military aid from the United States to the Egyptian people.

He expressed the hope for a peaceful settlement of the Iraqi-Iranian war and welcomed efforts by peace-loving countries to this end.

The prime minister also talked about economic issues at home. He said that President Mubarak gave the economic question priority attention. He said the government aimed at increasing the rates of production and asserted commitment to the policy of "productive liberalization".

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S.-EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CONTRADICTIONS SURFACE

OW191225 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Washington, 18 Feb (XINHUA)--The contradictions between the United States and its West European allies over financial and economic issues have come to the surface more clearly.

This has occurred after the Reagan Administration submitted to Congress its budget with a deficit of more than 91 billion dollars for the 1983 financial year.

Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens, the current chairman of the European Economic Community, today ended his three-day working visit here, which followed the recent meeting of the EEC finance ministers in Brussels. The aim of his visit was to tell the Reagan Administration about Europe's "serious concern" over high U.S. interest rates and a soaring dollar, coupled with huge budget deficits, and to ask Washington to make a prompt change in this policy.

Belgian Finance Minister Willy de Clerq said at the Brussels meeting that cooperation between the United States and the EEC is "an absolute must" to cope with the damage high interest rates and the volatile dollar exchange rate are causing to the European economy. "We have to examine the possibility of rapidly reaching a consensus with the United States before we make any separate approach to the problem," he added.

During his stay here, Mr Martens conferred with President Reagan and other top U.S. officials. After a meeting with the U.S. President for nearly two hours, he told reporters, "The Atlantic Alliance and the Western economies are going through very difficult times and our solidarity is being put to a test." The U.S. President defended his economic strategy by saying that his economic policies were the best way of dealing with the U.S. and world economies. During his televised press conference today, Reagan admitted that interest rates have worried U.S. allies in Europe because they tend to drain money away from those countries to the United States. But he made no commitment to bring down the rates.

The Belgian prime minister was accompanied by his Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans, the current president of the EEC Council of Ministers.

The Luxembourg foreign minister and deputy prime minister, Colette Flesch, also in Washington on a visit, told a National Press Club luncheon Wednesday that

Europeans were disturbed by Europe's economic recession and high unemployment. "We cannot forget that it was the economic crisis which in the 30's brought about the rise of nazism and fascism and the decline of democracy in Europe," she said.

West German Economic Minister Otto Lambsdorff left his country today for a nine-day visit to the United States. He is expected to hold talks in Washington and New York about interest rates and the impact on Europe of the Reagan budget.

West European countries have in the past year and more complained about the U.S. economic policies. But their complaints have been ignored by Washington. The 91.5-billion-dollar deficit projected in the new Reagan budget for the 1983 financial year will mean further absorption of massive capital funds from the markets and more serious impact on West Europe. Political figures and financiers in Western Europe are voicing their discontent more openly.

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said in an interview published in the NEW YORK TIMES today: "Europe is in greater danger than the Americans have understood so far." "The fabric of the economy and the society," he added, "is endangered by the deepest recession since the middle 30's." West German Economic Minister Otto Lambsdorff said on February 15 that the EEC finance ministers were of the same view that the U.S. financial and economic policies have "posed a serious threat to European economies." David Watt, director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, wrote in the LONDON TIMES: "Reagan's second budget...is a major calamity, not just for the United States but for the West as a whole." An analyst described this issue as "one of the most potentially divisive disagreements within the Western Alliance."

The issue of high U.S. interest rates is expected to be brought up again at the next economic summit of seven major industrial powers to be held in France in June.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AUSTRALIA, SOUTH PACIFIC CONFERENCE OPENS 18 FEBRUARY

OW182347 Beijing XINHUA in English 1906 GMT 18 Feb 82

[Text] Canberra, 18 Feb (XINHUA)--Prime Minister of Vanuatu Walter Lini said here today that the heavy hand of colonialism must be lifted from the Pacific region.

The prime minister made the statement at a two-day conference of Australia and the South Pacific which was opened here this morning.

The conference is sponsored by the Australian National University and the Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific.

Lini said, "Independence has given us the right and the duty to...the establishment of a society that is in concert with the needs and ideals of the people of Vanuatu."

He welcomed the news that Papua, New Guinea, the Marshall Islands, Kiribati, the Solomons, Nauru and Palau, together with Micronesia, were to sign a fisheries co-operation agreement. The agreement is designed to co-ordinate their exploitation of common fisheries resources and strengthen their bargaining position in dealing with foreign fishing nations and companies, he said.

Referring to the birth of a common trade policy, a pooling of common services and perhaps a common foreign policy among the states of Melanesia in the future, he said, "Such an association of Melanesian states would hasten the day when we could finally rid ourselves of the inhibition of requiring foreign aid."

He said that the awakening and gaining of strength in the islands of the Pacific will certainly bring the states in the region closer together to generate yet further strength. "This in turn", he said, "will assist us towards developing a regional strategy, which I hope will include a common policy on foreign relations."

Speaking at the morning session was also Francis Bugotu, secretary of foreign affairs of the Solomon Islands and secretary-general of the South Pacific Commission.

Bugotu said, "We must accept the fact that the South Pacific is our home, and dispel any notion that other world bloc nations could really be interested in our welfare other than to use our islands and region for self-interest and gain."

In his opening speech, the Australian Foreign Minister Tony Street said that his government and the governments [which] preceded it "have pursued their relations with the South Pacific on the basis that Australia's destiny is as irrevocably bound to the region as it is to Asian (the Southeast Asian nations) and other countries of the Asia-Pacific region."

He assured the conference that Australia continues to accept that it has a special role to play in the South Pacific. "Australia has been and continues to be generous in developing its program of assistance, and we value the dialogue we maintain with countries of the region on the future direction of our aid program," he said.

The conference is to discuss military and strategic issues, trades, health and nutrition in the South Pacific and Australia's relations with the Pacific.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. RECESSION DEEPENS, INTEREST RATES RISE

OW181708 Beijing XINHUA in English 1646 GMT 18 Feb 82

[Text] Washington, 17 Feb (XINHUA)--Factory production in the United States fell 3 percent in January, the biggest drop since May 1980 and an indication that the recession is taking a turn for the worse, the Federal Reserve Board reported today.

Industrial production in the United States has been on the decline for six consecutive months since the current recession started last August, and each month has shown a bigger drop than the last.

The Fed's index of industrial production was set at 139.1 in January, compared to a base of 100 in 1976. The industrial output is now 9.6 percent below last year's peak in July, the Fed said.

The Fed also reported that "declines in January were again widespread with the largest drops occurring in the production of autos, construction supplies and durable and non-durable goods materials."

American cars were assembled at an annual rate of 3.6 million units last month, the lowest level since 2.8 million cars were turned out daily in November 1959 when a major steel strike curtailed activity in the industry.

Auto sales dropped 7 percent during the first 10 days of February from the same period a year ago, despite rebates ranging from 300 to 2,000 dollars. This is the lowest level of auto sales in 21 years.

Retail sales in general were down 1.1 percent in January from December, with durable goods sales down 3.4 percent, construction materials 1 percent and furniture sales 1.4 percent.

Although official statistics indicated that unemployment fell to 8.5 percent in January from 8.8 percent in December, the data did not reflect a real improvement trend in the labor market, a Labor Department official pointed out.

Contrary to the official unemployment rate based on a house-to-house survey by government statisticians, a separate survey showed a fall of 235,000 in the number of workers in the payrolls during January. In fact, many frustrated Americans have stopped looking for jobs and therefore were not included in the unemployment figure.

The decline in the January unemployment rate could reflect a "statistical quirk" rather than new strength in the economy, a Labor Department analyst said.

In the financial market, a sharp increase in the money supply has brought deeper anxiety to the Wall Street analysts who fear that inflation might rise again.

Major U.S. banks lifted their prime lending rate today to 17 percent from 16.5 percent, with Chase Manhattan Bank taking the lead and Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., Chemical Bank New York Trust Co. and First National Bank of Chicago following.

The new hike in interest rates is expected to have a negative impact on the already sluggish U.S. economy and might also further strain relations between the United States and its European allies, whose economies have been hurt by high U.S. interest rates.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FRG TO RESTRICT RELATIONS WITH USSR, POLAND

OW181216 Beijing XINHUA in English 1208 GMT 18 Feb 82

[Text] Bonn, 17 Feb (XINHUA)--The West German Government has decided to place restrictions on its political and economic relations with the Soviet Union and Poland due to the present situation in Poland, government spokesman Kurt Becker announced here today.

The move, he added, is to give Moscow a clear "political signal" of the West's displeasure over the maintenance of martial law in Poland.

Mr Becker told reporters after a cabinet meeting that the new restrictions were: to strictly control the movement of diplomats of the Soviet official establishments in West Germany, to restrict contacts with Soviet officials in keeping with the present situation, a principle which is also applied to high ranking West German officials above state secretary, and to limit the Soviet consulates in West Germany to the present number.

He also said that Bonn will suspend all talks with Moscow on economic and technological agreements, shipping and river navigation and further restrict bilateral scientific and technical cooperation.

The cabinet agreed to take part in any trade measures against Moscow approved by the European Economic Community and pledged not to undermine sanctions introduced by any other Western allies, he added.

On relations with Poland, Mr Becker said that West Germany will carefully examine bilateral exchanges, especially hold reservations to the activities of the present Polish authorities.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

POLISH MARTIAL LAW OFFENSES--Beijing, 18 Feb (XINHUA)--Three thousand, five-hundred Poles were detained and another 7,000 fined for martial law violations in a two-day police operation ending yesterday, states a Warsaw report quoting the POLISH PRESS AGENCY. The action by 25,000 Polish men appears to be the biggest of its kind taken in Warsaw since the slamming of martial law and ten days before the promised lifting of many restrictions. The police found public observance of the martial law decrees "far from good". Curfew-breakers have been fined or sentenced to one-month imprisonment. The 7,000 fines totalled 2.3 million zlotys (about 28,000 dollars). Within the 48-hour period, 145,000 people violated the existing regulations; 29,000 people were warned and 4,000 people were referred to misdemeanor courts. PAP said police checked 51,000 shops and 60,000 vehicles and searched 3,500 hideouts for "criminal elements" in the operation. [Text] [OW181135 Beijing XINHUA in English 0753 GMT 18 Feb 82]

MONGOLIA LEADERSHIP RESHUFFLED--Ulaanbaatar, 17 Feb (XINHUA)--Vice-chairman of Council of Ministers S. Lubsangombo, was recently elected alternate member of Political Bureau at the fourth plenary session of the 18th Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, according to press report here. B. Lhamsuren who was elected alternate member at the Central Committee's third plenum last December was removed from his post. B. Shirendeb who was removed from the post of president of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences not long ago was expunged from the Central Committee. The Great People's Hural appointed S. Lubsangombo minister of national security to replace U. Choyjhijsuren. [Text] [OW181240 Beijing XINHUA in English 1214 GMT 18 Feb 82]

JARUZELSKI TO VISIT SOVIET UNION--Warsaw, 21 Feb (XINHUA)--Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, will lead a party and government delegation to Moscow in early March for a visit to the Soviet Union, according to a PAP report today. This is the first time for Jaruzelski to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union since last August. [Text] [OW220303 Beijing XINHUA in English 0202 GMT 22 Feb 82]

U.S.-S. KOREA EXERCISES--Beijing, 19 Feb (XINHUA)--Chon Chong-yong, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in China, today condemned the United States and South Korean authorities for staging a large-scale military exercise in the southern half of Korea since February 13. He

said at a press conference at the embassy that this military exercise "is a wanton violation of the Korean armistice agreement and a grave challenge to the entire Korean people and the peace-loving people of the world desirous of peace in Korea and her peaceful reunification." Chon Chong-yong demanded an immediate stop to the military exercise. [Text] [OW190828 Beijing XINHUA in English 0822 GMT 19 Feb 82]

PUNISHMENT FOR ECONOMIC CRIMES--Belgrade, 22 (XINHUA)--To further stabilize the economy, Yugoslavia's chief procurator proposed tougher punishments for illegal economic activities. In recent years, cases of illegal economic activities have been increasing in Yugoslavia year after year. According to a recent report by Federal Chief Procurator Goze-Gucetic to the Federal Assembly, in the past 5 years, Yugoslav courts at various levels have sentenced 168,000 economic offenders. In the last year, 16,000 enterprises and 27,000 enterprise leaders were punished for illegal economic activities. Leaders of these enterprises violated law and discipline, concealed income, violated contracts, defaulted on loans and evaded payment of taxes for selfish ends. To effectively curb illegal economic activities so that the state economic system can play a more effective role, Chief Procurator Goze-Gucetic proposed to the Federal Assembly to adopt effective measures. In serious cases, the offenders not only should be fined but should be dealt with as criminals. The delegates present expressed support for the motion. The assembly will adopt relevant laws and regulations in March. [Text] [OW241045 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1641 GMT 23 Feb 82]

SPANISH CP SCORES USSR--[Report: "General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party Again Charges the Soviets With Attempting To Split the Italian and Spanish Communist Parties"]--According to a report from ANSA News Agency, Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, in a recent press conference charged the Soviets with attempting to split the Italian Communist Party in the manner in which they tried to split the Spanish Communist Party. He had published a similar charge against the Soviets on 8 February. Carrillo's charge was leveled at an article attacking the Italian Communist Party published by PRAVDA on 24 January. He described this article as "not only an excommunication" but also a call to the pro-Soviet Italian communists to rise and struggle against the present leaders of the Italian Communist Party." According to reports, after the Italian Communist Party organ L'UNITA refuted PRAVDA's attack, the Italian Communist Party Central Committee also denounced individual leading members for distorting the resolutions of the Central Committee and cautioned the whole party "to guard against the conspiracies that are now appearing, for, under certain circumstances, these conspiracies will even receive external condemnation and support designed to form an organized group which will be incompatible with the development of free debate in the party." [Text] [HK231438 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Feb 82 p 7]

REAGAN'S REMARKS ON USSR--According to a XINHUA report, while answering questions put to him by the correspondents of the NORWEGIAN NEWS AGENCY [NORSK TELEGRAMBYRANTB] two days ago, U.S. President Reagan pointed out that he does not consider it appropriate to hold a U.S.-Soviet summit conference at the present moment. President Reagan added that it is futile to arrange for holding a summit conference without the possibility of achieving any positive results, and that we have no intention whatsoever to arrange for such a meeting. However, President Reagan said: Although U.S.-Soviet relations are the most desolate ever, due to the development of the situation in Poland, he will still keep the channels of communications open. [Text] [OW220540 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 19 Feb 82]

'WASHINGTON POST' ARTICLES CITED--[RENMIN RIBAO editor's note accompanying the excerpts of an article by Philip F. Zeidman, entitled "The Lesson of an American's Life"]--John Zeidman, an American youth studying in China, unfortunately died of viral encephalitis after failing to respond to medical treatment. In its 24 January issue, the WASHINGTON POST carried an article by D. Finkelstein, entitled "The Lesson of an American's Death," making use of John Zeidman's death to oppose China. On 31 January, it also carried an article entitled "The Lesson of an American's Life" by John's father, Philip F. Zeidman, who wrote the article with a heavy heart and told about the actual facts. Excerpts of the latter article follow: [Text of the excerpts omitted] [Text] [HK171450 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Feb 82 p 6]

ZURICH DELEGATION VISIT--Yunnan provincial People's Congress Standing Committee chairman An Ping Sheng and his wife (Li Qi) met Zurich Mayor (Wedemayer) and his wife, together with the visiting Zurich delegation, in Kunming on 18 February. An Ping Sheng spoke to the Swiss friends on the situation in Yunnan and Kunming. In the summer 1980, An Ping Sheng led Chinese friendship association delegation which visited Zurich. He praised the beauty of Switzerland and hailed the establishment of sister city relations between Kunming and Zurich. Also present at the reception were Kunming Mayor Zhu Kui and provincial Foreign Affairs Office Director (Pan Jingsi). An Ping sheng then gave a banquet for the Zurich delegation. The delegation toured the city in the afternoon. [Summary] [HK190339 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 18 Feb 82]

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PARTY AND STATE

CHEN YUN'S REMARKS ON FEAR OF LOSING 'FACE' PRAISED

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Li Gengshu [2621 5087 2579]: "Why Can't Some Leading Cadres Hear the Criticism From Their Subordinates and the Masses?"]

[Text] In his speech to the Seventh National Party Congress, Comrade Chen Yun said that there were flashes of arrogance and individualism among our party cadres, and he pointed out: "The danger of this tendency is greater if it is adhered to by senior cadres than if by cadres at middle and lower levels." For this reason, leading cadres must demonstrate greater courage to use criticism and self-criticism as a weapon and to take the lead in getting the "baggage" off their backs so that they can better discharge the duties assigned by the party. It is believed that the majority of our leading cadres can live up to this expectation. But in real life, such episodes have emerged: now, those at the top are allowed to criticize those at the bottom or the masses; but one problem after another will follow if those at the bottom or the masses subject their superiors to criticism. This being the case, either their criticism is rejected or it is met with counter-charges or retaliatory counterblows until the criticism is dropped. It is much less likely that those at the top will in any way initiate self-criticism.

Why did this happen? What they worry about is nothing but the fear of hurting their sense of pride and dignity and the fear of losing "face."

The mere mention of "losing face" reminds me of what Lu Xun said in this regard: "The view of 'face-losing' mentality varies from person to person. For example, a rickshaw driver will feel nothing wrong when he sits on the roadside, takes off his cloth and starts in to catch lice. If he were the son-in-law of a wealthy family, he would feel a "loss of face."

It seems to me that if one puts himself high above the rest, in the position of a "wealthy son-in-law" set apart from the masses who believes that to pick off lice would be "shameful," naturally he will feel it is a "loss of face" to do so. But if one sees himself as a "rickshaw man" who believes that not to pick off the lice is what is really "shameful," and that taking off his shirt to catch them is quite natural, then there will be no feeling of "losing face."

Since men are not saints, no one is infallible. As long as you are human instead of a god, your body may be hospitable to lice. If you do not catch them or let

somebody else help you catch them as soon as you find them, do you still have any sense of "dignity" or "pride"?

Comrade Chen Yun said it well: "Sometimes, the more you want to save face, the more you will lose it in the days ahead. Only when you do not fear losing face, and frankly and sincerely try to correct your mistakes, may you be able to save a little face. When communists are prepared to join the revolution and sacrifice everything, even their lives, why do they want to care about their face?" We must uphold the truth and correct our mistakes. This is a fundamental guarantee for the victory of our cause. During the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee willingly and sincerely heard the entire party and people throughout the country criticize it by honestly telling of its shortcomings and errors in work. Nevertheless, our party still stands untarnished as a glorious party. On the contrary, never before has our party enjoyed such high prestige. This has also made our party grow more united, stronger, more correct, greater, and more forthright than ever.

As long as we promise to serve the people, is there any reason for us to hesitate to overcome those shortcomings and mistakes? Comrade Chen Yun said it well: "As long as whatever we do is in the interests of the revolution and the people, we should go ahead and do it."

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PARTY AND STATE

STRENGTHENING PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL LEADERSHIP PROMOTED

Taiyuan TAIYUAN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jan 82 pp 1,4

[Article: "Strengthen the Party's Ideological and Political Leadership"]

[text] The conference on ideological and political work convened by the municipal party committee clearly pointed out that in the new historical period political work is still the lifeblood of all work, and that we need to further strengthen and improve the party's ideological and political leadership in order to ensure the successful advance of the construction of material and spiritual civilization.

Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee party organizations at all levels in the entire metropolis have made great efforts to study, disseminate and implement the party's line, principles and policies, centered around economic regulation and production and construction, and have unceasingly strengthened and improved ideological and political work, stressing the correction of "leftist" errors in the guiding ideology while also taking notice of criticizing rightist ideological trends in society. They have achieved remarkable success. However, quite a few problems still exist in our city's ideological and political front. What particularly deserves attention is the lax and feeble state of affairs still existing in varying degrees in the ideological and political leadership of party organizations at all levels.

How can this kind of lax and feeble state of affairs be changed to further strengthen and improve the party's ideological and political leadership? The conference on ideological and political work convened by the municipal party committee has already drawn up specific plans. In the course of implementing the spirit of this conference we need to continue to solve among some leading comrades the problems of "don't," "dare not" and "can't."

The so-called "don't" refers to those muddled viewpoints that ignore, even abandon, ideological and political work. For example, some comrades understand no longer carrying on political campaigns in the future as no longer wanting political work. Some mistakenly understand emphasis on acting in accordance with economic laws and using economic means to manage the economy as political and ideological work no longer playing a role, etc. It needs to be made clear to these comrades that the four modernizations construction must inevitably lead to a series of profound changes in the economic, political and ideological realms. These kinds of changes must also inevitably lead to a large number of problems of ideological understanding in people. Therefore, ideological and political work not only cannot be abolished and cannot be weakened, but must be further

strengthened. At the same time, people must correctly act in accordance with economic laws and must also resolutely not deviate from ideological and political work. If an individual's ideological line is incorrect, he cannot possibly understand and apply objective economic laws. Likewise, if the propagation of material interests deviated from ideological and political work, it too would inevitably go in the wrong direction and would lead the masses astray. After the point of emphasis in the party's work was shifted, only strengthening ideological and political work would then cause our cadres and masses to maintain firm and correct political orientations, steadfastly implement the party's line, principles and policies, and with one heart and one mind successfully achieve the four modernizations construction. Ideological and political work are the fundamental guarantees for the construction of material and spiritual civilization and for the realization of the four modernizations. If ideological and political work were to be abandoned, it would be tantamount to abandoning the four modernizations construction.

The so-called "dare not" is some cadres not daring to struggle against the erroneous trends and unhealthy practices and evil influences that run counter to the four fundamental principles, not daring to repudiate the bourgeoisie liberalization trend in society, and not daring to criticize extreme individualism, absolute equalitarianism and anarchism. This "dare not" problem is the crux of the lax and feeble state of affairs. Why "dare not?" The main reason is that the ideological lines of these comrades are incorrect, the "leftist" mistaken ideology has not been eliminated, right and wrong is not clear, and they make no distinction between left and right. Some still muddle along because their own workstyles are not correct, they have no strong backing or their spirits have not been bestirred. Therefore, leading comrades at all levels must continue to study earnestly the "Historical Resolution," further eliminate pernicious influences, correct ideological lines, raise their spirits, strengthen unity, straighten their backs and dare to grasp and manage. They must particularly carry forward the fine traditions and practices of the party, have the courage to carry out criticism and self-criticism, and conduct determined struggles against all kinds of unhealthy trends and evil influences.

The so-called "can't" is some comrades being accustomed to using the means for carrying on campaigns to do ideological and political work. At present they no longer carry on movements, and they feel that there is no way to take control. In confronting this situation, if we are to strive to inherit and carry forward the fine traditions of our party's ideological and political work, we must furthermore pay attention to keeping abreast of new developments, studying new problems, and exploring and summarizing the experience of doing good ideological and political work in the new historical period. Leading cadres and political work personnel of the party committees at all levels must frequently go deep among the masses, go down to the grassroots units, find out what the masses are thinking and what difficulties they have, and pay attention to the new experiences of the grassroots units in doing ideological and political work. They must master the methods for applying praise and criticism under new circumstances to bring positive factors into play, and support what is correct and drive out evil. While integrating with reality the continued thorough study of the "Historical Resolution," they must increase the education in the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the four basic principles, combine

Ideological and political work with launching the socialist labor emulation drive, with solving the real problems of the masses, and with economic means. They must continue to promote vigorously the implementation of the "Guiding Principles," vigorously launch "five stresses and fourpoints of beauty" activities, do a good job with party workstyle, and spur on the rapid turn for the better of the general mood of the whole of society.

In the new year, provided party organizations at all levels in the entire metropolis earnestly change the lax and feeble state of affairs and conscientiously strengthen and improve the party's ideological and political leadership, we will certainly be able to do even better any item of work and achieve tremendous success in the construction of material and spiritual civilization.

9428

CSC: 4005/521

CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM IN OVERWHELMING HARMFUL PRACTICES URGED

Taiwan TAIYAN SHIBAO in Chinese 31 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Jung Jinh in [531A 2412 1451]: "Take Up the Weapon of Criticism and Self-Criticism"]

[Text] In life within the party we often see this kind of phenomenon: despite quite a few problems existing within party organizations of some units, inner-party criticism is not carried out and ideological struggle is weak and powerless. In examining the causes there is this common worry: the status quo can still be maintained without carrying out criticism and picking out problems will not immediately end them. So, these units are not energetically promoting unity, through inner-party ideological struggle but are wrapping up problems and passively "enslaving" unity in order to obtain a kind of surface, temporary "calm."

It should be noted that our party organizations and CCP members do not live in a vacuum. Due to a variety of influences in society, there can often occur within the party all kinds of ideological divergences and ideological struggles. Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out in the past that "As for us, we frequently examine our work and through self-criticism develop democratic styles of work. Do not fear criticism and self-criticism...they are the only effective methods for resisting all kinds of political dirt and political microorganisms that corrode the ideology of our comrades and the body of our party." Therefore, only by our "washing our faces" and "scrubbing the floor," frequently carrying out criticism and self-criticism, having the courage to struggle against all sorts of harmful ideologies, erroneous statements and actions and unhealthy tendencies can we then crush evil with right, overcome and get rid of harmful practices, maintain and encourage good styles of work, and we can then truly strengthen unity, unify everyone's ideology and actions, and promote every item of work. Conversely, if we dare not carry out criticism and struggle against erroneous statements and actions and adopt the unprincipled attitude of "tolerance" and "yielding," if we dare not manage boldly the very few "thorny head" characters and adopt the attitude of "persuade" and "coax," if we dare not boldly seize some knotty problems and adopt the attitude of "postponing" and "dodging"--in short, if we dare not expose contradictions, dare not struggle against harmful trends, embracing the attitude that less talk is good and just muddle along, not only will all kinds of problems go unsolved, but latent contradictions will constantly expand and develop as well.

The experiences of many units have proven that so long as we carry forward the fine traditions of our party, take up the weapons of criticism and self-criticism, energetically and correctly carry out ideological struggle, then we surely will be able to play in earnest the role of the core leadership of the party committee, play the role of the fighting force of the party branch, and play the exemplary role of the vanguard of party members and do well every item of work. The lessons of certain units also make clear that the consequences or the "peaceful coexistence" of fantasy with erroneous trends and unhealthy tendencies would be too ghastly to contemplate.

9926

CSO: 4405/521

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SOVIET COMMENTS ON MODERNIZATION OF CHINESE ARMED FORCES

Moscow ZARUBEZHNOYE VOYENNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 10, Oct 81 (signed to press 14 Oct 81) pp 10-15

[Article by Col K. Borisov: "Modernization of China's Armed Forces"]

[Text] Organizational development of China's armed forces is based on Maoist military-strategic ideas, the substance of which is determined by the hegemonist, anti-Soviet and antisocialist policy of the present Beijing leaders. The army is viewed as the leading force in supporting a political strategy aimed at transforming China into a mighty militarist power which could establish hegemony in the world arena.

China's armed forces, as is reported in the British reference book entitled "Military Balance," total 4,450,000 men. All military services (missile forces, ground forces, air force, navy) and combat arms are represented.

Missile forces began to be formed at the beginning of the 1960's. According to the above reference volume, they are equipped with approximately 140 launchers for ballistic missiles of various types (Figure 1) [not reproduced].

The ground forces (3,600,000 men), which are the foundation of China's armed forces, organizationally consist of 35 army corps, 118 infantry, 11 tank, 3 airborne, and 40 artillery divisions of the regular army, 85 local-forces infantry divisions, as well as support and service units and subunits. Their armament includes approximately 11,000 tanks, 16,000 artillery pieces, other weapons and combat equipment.

The Air Force (490,000 men) includes all air arms, antiaircraft missile units and antiaircraft artillery, as well as radar subunits. China's military air fleet totals approximately 5,200 combat aircraft.

Naval forces (approximately 360,000 men) include 1,500 ships and craft of various types, including more than 90 submarines, 12 guided missile destroyers, and 11 guided missile escorts (frigates). Foreign military experts believe that the Navy is capable of performing missions primarily involving defense of coastal waters and control of straits and shipping lanes. At the same time Chinese command authorities have by no means given up their plans to build a navy capable of not only of operating in the seas washing China's shores but also of maintaining a presence in the Indian Ocean and Pacific.

The Third Session of the All-China Assembly of People's Representatives (AAPR), 5th Convocation, held in September 1980, described the Chinese army as a "faithful defender of the cause of the four modernizations" and specified the task of "strengthening it and increasing its combat efficiency." Emphasizing the need to modernize the armed forces, Deng Xiaoping stated, according to a report in the foreign press, that the army had become swollen and that discipline was lax.

Recently Chinese leaders have time and again stated their desire to increase the prosperity of the people and that this goal is promoted by the program of "four modernizations" -- agriculture, industry, defense, science and technology. Even a certain reduction in direct military expenditures, with the aim of speeding up development of the nation's economy, was announced at the Third Session of the AAPR. As is noted in the Western press, however, the main content and end objective of the notorious "modernization" consists in qualitative reequipping the armed forces, transforming them into a modern army capable of achieving the hegemonistic aims of the present Chinese leadership. AAPR permanent committee chairman Ye Jianying, addressing a meeting dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, stated frankly that modernization of the armed forces consists in establishing powerful ground forces, air and naval forces, and arming them with modern weapons, including nuclear missiles.

According to official figures, in recent years China's military expenditures have comprised approximately 17 percent of total budget appropriations. This figure, in the estimate of Western military experts, reflects only direct military expenditures on maintaining China's huge army. It is noted thereby that in 1980, for example, this amount increased from 10 to 13.06 billion dollars in comparison with 1977, while it reached a record level in 1979 -- approximately 36 billion. The largest allocations for military purposes directly connected with modernizing the armed forces, including expanded research and development and purchase of new combat equipment, are contained in other budget items. According to figures published in Great Britain, China's total military expenditures amount to 10 percent of the gross national product.

According to the London newspaper DAILY TELEGRAPH, the main directions of and timetable for modernizing China's armed forces were specified in a directive issued by the Military Council of the CPC Central Committee in August 1980. The program drawn up by the Chinese leaders specifies that the process of modernization will be in progress up to the end of the 1980's, while in the estimate of foreign experts the process will proceed at a somewhat slower pace. This is due to the necessity of initially solving acute economic problems (creating a modern industrial and military-technology base, accumulating hard-currency funds for purchase abroad of advanced equipment and production technology), and of training the needed scientific cadres and skilled specialists. The newspaper states that China's main efforts will be focused on developing new weapons as well as on improving the troop control system (primarily by adopting modern communications equipment).

Beijing's ambitious plans completely to modernize its armed forces by the end of this century have encountered serious obstacles of an economic nature. The Chinese leaders have also been forced to acknowledge this in veiled form. At the end of January 1981 the Military Council of the CPC Central Committee, reported the Xinhua news agency, demanded "utilization with maximum effectiveness of available

financial and material resources," revision of plans for building secondary facilities, and adoption of a stringent economy regimen. The Chinese press emphasizes that the program for "regulating the economy" which has been in progress since 1979 is being applied in full measure to the army, and since the period of "adjustment" is being extended at least to 1985, the timetable for modernizing the armed forces is also inevitably being extended.

Missile forces absorb the lion's share of appropriations allocated for reequipping the armed forces. According to the Hong Kong bulletin ZHONGBAO, China has four types of ballistic missiles: CSS-1 -- a limited medium-range missile (1,900 km) with a 30 kt nuclear warhead; the CSS-2 -- medium range (2,700-4,000 km); CSS-3 -- limited intercontinental range (6,500 km); and the CSSX-4 -- intercontinental range (11,000-12,800 km). Test launches of the latter were conducted in May 1980. As is emphasized in the foreign press, practically all ballistic missiles are deployed in land-surface launcher positions, with construction of underground silo-type launchers in progress since 1977. The bulk of China's missile systems, according to the newspaper WASHINGTON POST, involve ballistic missiles with liquid-fuel rocket motors, one important drawback of which is the relatively long time required to ready them for launch.

Further development of this branch of the armed forces, in the opinion of Western experts, will take place along the line of modernizing existing missile systems, and particularly improvement in their protection. In addition, states the journal U.S. NAVAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS, China has allocated a substantial portion of its resources to weapons systems development projects, which may exert considerable influence on increasing the strategic offensive capabilities of China's armed forces in the latter half of the 1980's. In particular, it is anticipated that during this period the Chinese military will put on operational status intercontinental ballistic missiles some of which will be deployed in launch silos. In the estimate of foreign military experts, development of mobile intercontinental ballistic missile systems is practically out of the question in the near future due to that country's technical backwardness.

According to the Hong Kong bulletin ZHONGBAO, China is engaged in intensive efforts in the area of development of solid-fuel rockets, and in 1979 supposedly obtained promising results, which may lead to the appearance of a new generation of tactical, operational-tactical, and even strategic missiles. U.S. investigators believe that in 1980 China's Navy received an experimental ballistic missile for nuclear powered submarines (CSS-N-X) which, according to their preliminary calculations, may have a range of 2,200-2,700 km and carry a 20-200 kiloton nuclear warhead.

At the same time active research is being conducted in the area of developing new nuclear warheads. It has been noted in the Western press that tests at the Lop Nor range in recent years have included at least three detonations of nuclear devices designed for missile warheads. The bulletin ZHONGBAO also reports stepped-up research efforts in the area of developing neutron warheads.

Development of a new Chinese tank is one of the major items in the program to modernize the ground forces. The T-59 medium tank and the T-62 light tank, with which units and combined units are currently equipped, in the estimate of foreign military experts do not fully meet requirements, since the former possesses inadequate maneuverability, while the latter does not carry sufficiently thick armor.

ZHONGBAO pointed out in this connection that research and development in this area has been conducted in China since the beginning of the 1970's. It is not surprising that this country's specialists have in recent years shown heightened interest in Western armored vehicles, especially the West German Leopard-2 tank, the French AMX, and the British Chieftain. China has no intention, however, of purchasing large numbers of costly equipment, but is seeking access to the manufacturing technology for certain components, the most complex items -- high-quality armor plate, gun stabilization system, and fire control equipment, including laser gunsights.

As regards artillery systems, as the bulletin ZHONGBAO notes, China's artillery divisions boast fairly large firepower, but their mobility is limited, since primarily trucks are employed as motive power. Considerable attention is being devoted to lightweight man-portable antitank and surface-to-air missiles for infantry subunits. The antitank guided missiles manufactured by China's military industry (weight 11.3 kg, length 860 mm, maximum range 3,000 m, wire-guided) do not entirely satisfy the Chinese command authorities. Therefore new models are being developed, which in their performance characteristics would approximate Western counterparts (for example, the MILAN antitank missile). It is believed in the West that the fact that subunits are not armed with portable antiaircraft missile systems is because China lags considerably in the area of electronics applications. However, China is currently working actively on the development of its own antiaircraft missile system, the prototype of which is the British Blowpipe system.

The experience of the Chinese aggression against socialist Vietnam in 1979, in the opinion of foreign experts, revealed many weak points of China's ground forces. A poor degree of motorization of units is one of the main deficiencies, on the correction of which the efforts of China's command authorities are presently concentrated. For this reason plans call for building more armored personnel carriers, infantry fighting vehicles, and troop-carrying helicopters. Plans also call for substantially increasing deliveries of control and communication equipment to the military. Also on the agenda are such items as adoption of a convenient and practical field service dress and restoration of the system of military ranks.

Modernization of air forces calls for the conduct of research and development in the area of designing and building new types of combat aircraft (a fighter, attack aircraft, and strategic bomber). Currently the principal fighter is the F-6 Shenyang, which possesses good performance characteristics, according to ZHONGBAO. In the estimate of Western observers, at altitudes below 4,000 meters and at subsonic speeds it is superior to the U.S. F-104 and F-4 fighters. The F-6 Fantan attack aircraft was designed on the basis of this fighter (various sources also mention the A-7 and Qiang-5), the principal deficiency of which is a short combat radius. Also in production is the F-7 fighter. An attempt by the Chinese to develop a fighter with a speed of greater than Mach 2, the F-8, was unsuccessful, with the jet engine the weakest point. The B-6 and B-5 aircraft form the bulk of China's bomber force.

At the end of the 1970's China obtained from Great Britain a license to build Rolls-Royce engines and set up production at a plant in the city of Xian. The great thrust capabilities of these engines have enabled Chinese design engineers to come close to accomplishing the task of developing modern fighters and attack aircraft. As reported by ZHONGBAO, flight tests have already commenced on the

F-12A delta-wing fighter and the F-119 swing-wing fighter-bomber. Both aircraft are powered by twin Spey engines. In the estimate of foreign experts, these aircraft are of the same class as the U.S. F-4 fighter.

Considerable attention is being devoted to development of aircraft armament. China's air forces possess heat-seeking air-to-air missiles (Figure 2) [not reproduced]. A new rapid-fire aircraft cannon is being developed.

Much is written in the foreign press of China's interest in obtaining certain types of modern Western combat aircraft. Negotiations have been in progress for several years, for example, on purchase of British-built Harrier VTOL aircraft, and the question of obtaining the Tornado swing-wing multirole fighter, the French-built Mirage-2000 and Mirage-4000 aircraft, as well as U.S.-built F-16 and A-10 aircraft is being actively studied. Chinese proposals to place orders to purchase small numbers of units of equipment, however, are not to the liking of Western companies, while Beijing lacks the capability to pay for large-scale imports.

According to the American journal U.S. NAVAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS, building of a nuclear-powered undersea fleet is one of the central items in the program to modernize China's naval forces. Torpedo-armed nuclear-powered submarines would be built at the first stage, and later -- nuclear-powered submarines armed with ballistic missiles. The foreign press notes that Chinese experts have not yet solved certain technical problems. For example, a nuclear-powered torpedo-armed submarine was launched in 1971, but it did not take its maiden voyage until 1975. A second boat of this type was commissioned in 1978 and, as reported in the Chinese press, served as a test platform for developing ballistic missiles. In the estimate of foreign investigators, research and development in the area of building a nuclear-powered submarine fleet is being conducted in China for the most part in the same directions as was the case in the United States and France at the initial stage of development.

The plans of the Chinese leaders also include building fleet carrier forces. The British journal NAVY FORCES reported in particular Great Britain's willingness to take part in developing for China aircraft carriers of two classes, of 12,500 and 7,200 tons displacement. The former will have a speed of 28 knots, an operating radius of 3,500 miles, and will be able to carry 6 Sea Harrier fighters and 9 ASW helicopters (or 12 fighters and 4 helicopters), while the latter will have a speed of 25 knots, an operating radius of 2,250 miles, and will be able to carry 8 fighters and 2 helicopters.

A guided missile destroyer of the "Lüda" class is considered to be the most battle-worthy surface unit of China's naval forces, although it no longer fully meets today's demands. In connection with this, the Chinese are showing heightened interest in new ships of this type serving in the navies of Western countries. It is reported in the bulletin ZHONGBAO that China has sounded out the possibility of purchasing from Great Britain a "Broadsword" class destroyer (standard displacement 3,500 tons, speed 30 knots), which is equipped with modern electronic gear, antisub missiles, surface-to-air missiles, guns, ASW helicopters and torpedoes. It is believed that the high cost of ships of this class (approximately 95 million pounds sterling) could serve as an obstacle in concluding a deal.

Development of fleet amphibious landing forces is an important item in the program of modernizing China's navy. In particular, plans call for expanding the production of new classes of large-capacity amphibious landing vessels, as well as high-speed hydrofoil landing craft.

The majority of Western investigators believe that without enlisting the scientific advances and technology of the West, with the present state of China's material and technological base, that country would take decades to modernize its armed forces. Precisely for this reason, states the newspaper NEW YORK TIMES "the Chinese military are intensively searching world markets in the quest for weapons, dispatching thousands of technical experts to Western European countries for this purpose." The developed capitalist nations are expressing willingness to help rearm the Chinese Army in exchange for the brazen anti-Sovietism of Beijing leaders. As was stated in the Japanese newspaper MAINICHI, resolution of this matter depends in large measure on the position of the U.S. Government, which has stated time and again that a "strong China" is in the strategic interests of the West.

Foreign military experts note that the Carter Administration took the first step toward assisting in modernization of China's armed forces, approving more than 400 licenses for the export of "dual use" equipment, including heavy trucks, transport aircraft, helicopters, electronic equipment, communications gear, radars, pilot training simulators, and aircraft midair refueling equipment, that is, those components which will greatly help increase the mobility of units and combined units, improve the troop control and weapon control system, increase intelligence gathering and reconnaissance capabilities, and increase subunit transport capabilities. The Reagan Administration has gone even further, hastening to remove restrictions on the sale of offensive arms to China. Many sober-minded Americans have condemned these actions. Former U.S. Secretary of State C. Vance, for example, stated that "this decision was a serious mistake."

Western military experts generally agree that in the near future China will be modernizing its military not by large-scale import of modern arms but chiefly by purchasing single items or small consignments of weapons and combat equipment as well as their manufacturing technology, the extensive conduct of research and development, and comprehensive development of China's own military industry. In the near future principal efforts will be focused on developing new armored vehicles, antitank guided missiles, and mobile surface-to-air missiles to down low-flying targets, and modern combat aircraft. In the area of nuclear weapons and rocketry, it is believed in the West that China will focus its efforts on further development of intercontinental ballistic missiles and the development of new types of warheads and nuclear munitions.

All this indicates that the Beijing leaders are devoting principal attention to militarization of China with the aim of carrying out aggressive actions against neighboring sovereign nations, the employment of force in resolving complex international problems, and interference in the affairs of other countries.

RIGHT: "Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obozreniye", 1981

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SENIOR CADRES DISCUSS UNHEALTHY TENDENCIES WITHIN PARTY

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 52, 1 Feb 82 pp 18, 19

[Article: "Old Cadres Expose Unhealthy Trends Within the Party"]

[Text] On the evening before New Year's Day 1982, the Organization Department of the CCP Central Committee and RENMIN RIBAO jointly invited a number of senior cadres to discuss Comrade Chen Yun's statement entitled "It Is Necessary To Tell the Truth Rather Than Save Face." This statement was part of his speech to the Seventh National Party Congress in 1945. It was circulated by the CCP Central Committee last November as an internal party document for the benefit of party members.

The forum was held in the West Building of Zhongnanhai. Among its participants were Li Wei-han [2621 4850 3352], counselor of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Central Committee and vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee; Kang Ke-qing [1660 0344 3237], chairman of the National Women's Federation and vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee; Li Yi-mang [2621 0001 3047], director of the Ancient Book Compilation and Publication Group of the State Council; Li Bu-xin [2621 2975 2450], counselor of the Organization Department of the CCP Central Committee; Liu Lantao [0491 3482 3447], first deputy director of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Central Committee and vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee; Ceng San [2582 0005], counselor of the General Office of the CCP Central Committee; Wang Cong-wu [3769 1783 0710], deputy secretary of the CCP Central Committee's Commission for Inspection of Discipline; Shuai Meng-qí [1596 1322 1142], counselor of the Organization Department of the CCP Central Committee; Song Yiping [1345 0001 1627], secretary of the Provisional Party Committee of the State Organs and deputy secretary general of the State Council; Li Bao-hua [2621 5508 5478], president of the People's Bank of China and secretary of its party committee; Zhou Yang [0719 2254], deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee, and chairman of the National Federation of Literature and Art Circles; Wang Bing-qian [3769 3521 0589], president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and secretary of its party organization; Gan Wei-han [3927 3262 3352], deputy director of the PLA General Political Department; Sun Yi [1327 3015], counselor of the PLA General Staff Department; Wang Zheng-zhu [3769 2398 2691], deputy director of the PLA General Logistics Department; and He Jin-tian [6320 2516 1628], deputy commander of the PLA Armored Corps.

The following is a summary of speeches at this forum:

Lin Biao: Senior cadres must play an exemplary role in rectifying the party's workstyle and in improving the people's lifestyle. Our watchword is action rather than garrulous talk; the initiative is to be taken by ourselves and by senior cadres; who must take the lead in developing self-criticism. Past successes have made some people arrogant and hesitant to tell the truth for the sake of saving face. In what category should these characters be listed? Comrade Chen Yun said with deep feeling: "They are communists whose thoughts are tainted with individualism."

Wang Bingnan: Whether our party's workstyle is good or bad is a sufficient factor that may lead to the success or failure of our cause. Whether the party's workstyle can be rectified is a matter of interest that will turn the eyes of the masses toward leading comrades at all levels for an answer.

Gao Weihan: During the war, the relations between the army and the people were like those of fish to water. The army could not move forward a single inch without the support of the masses. Today, some comrades appear to believe that their official positions are secure, with or without the masses. A few party members and cadres have become or are going to become corrupt officials or overlords sitting on the backs of the people. Wherever they go, what they are concerned about is not their country and fellow countrymen but their own fortune. What agonizes me most is the fact that some senior comrades have failed to live up to the people's expectations. After surviving the 10 years of civil strife and persecution, they have become cocky upon their return to power with their knapsacks on their backs.

Although education holds the key to success in rectifying the party's workstyle, it should be coupled with strict enforcement of party discipline. Our investigators have failed to show a sense of urgency, determination, and a serious attitude in dealing with serious cases of violations of the law and breaches of discipline. They even tend to reduce major cases to minor ones and minor cases to nothing. "Don't do it again" is often their admonition to serious violators of party discipline. This is the key reason why the party's workstyle still shows no sign of improvement. Our failure to strictly enforce party discipline will reduce the "Guiding Principles" to a scrap of paper and the campaign to rectify the party's workstyle to empty slogans.

He Jinnian: Some people have become disillusioned with us, and especially with those old comrades who have failed to live up to their expectations. Those comrades are high-ranking officials who have distinguished service to their credit and who were once mistreated. However, they have all turned out to be our "burdens." The "Guiding Principles" seemingly have no binding effect on them. If they are criticized, they fly into a rage and take retaliatory action against their critics. Under their influence, the unhealthy trend of cheating has become widespread. Mindful of their private interests, their subordinates have ganged up on the public, thus seriously undermining the party and jeopardizing its future. We old comrades should assume a special responsibility for rectifying the party's workstyle.

Shuai Shuai had a vision of other persecution by the "king of four" which had caused her to lose the sight in her eyes. She was accompanied to the forum by her secretary. A former secretary of the party committee of a major county in Hunan, she had traveled thousands of miles to Yan'an to attend the "Seventh Party Congress." When Comrade Chen Yun delivered his speech to the congress, she had trouble grasping its meaning. Under the harsh circumstances in the Kuomintang-controlled areas, Communist Party members were ready to sacrifice everything, even their lives, when they decided to join the revolution. To them, ideological problems were something unknown. Later, they noticed that a mood of arrogance gradually spread among some comrades within the party, causing their styles of thinking and work to undergo changes. This came after the revolution had triumphed and the party had come to power. Today, in the wake of the 10 years of civil strife, a bureaucratic style which leads cadres to love special privileges and alienate themselves from the masses has grown along with other unhealthy tendencies, thus putting the organization of the party in serious danger. Recently, elder sister Shuai became unusually excited when she heard her secretary read to her Comrade Chen Yun's speech, which reminded her of the nostalgic scene of the "Seventh Party Congress" of the remote past.

She said: Today, some people join the party in the hope of becoming officials. The higher they climb, the more bureaucratic they grow. Many people care very little about the party. To them, the interests of the party and state mean very little. What they care about most is their own self-interest. Some responsible cadres spend a lot of time trying to put their children and relatives through college by way of "backdoor dealings," and trying to get them good jobs through the same channels. What they care about most are their relatives, friends, sons, grandsons. The interests of the party and the people mean nothing to them. Some party cadres, and senior cadres in particular, love to hear flattery and are unwilling to accept criticism. The sycophants who associate with them are often the first recommended for promotion or transfer to better positions or receiving bonuses. Others who volunteered to offer suggestions are given a hard time or dealt heavy blows in retaliation. To some party cadres, party discipline means nothing. They have refused to be bound by the provisions of discipline. When they are assigned new jobs, they always want to haggle about the terms. They will never accept assignments that are not to their liking. Before accepting them, they often want to know whether their wives and children can go with them. There are also people who do not match their words with deeds, who say one thing to your face but mean another behind your back, and who can never make good on their promises. In the final analysis, their faith in communism is unfirm and questionable.

She said: Every Communist Party member, and especially every old comrade, must use Comrade Chen Yun's speech as a mirror to reflect on himself so that he can behave himself and clean the political dust that dirties his face. When one has made mistakes--no matter whether he is a minister, a bureau chief, or a party committee secretary--he should ready himself to accept criticism or launch self-criticism. The more you want to save face, the more you will lose it. The truth will tear the mask from your face. You will be spurned by the people if you do not care about them and care only about your sons, grandsons, and relatives. The people are primary and the party is secondary. The truth is that like a tiny grain floating in the vast ocean, the role played by every individual is negligible.

Lin Biao: Our party must have discipline and our country must have laws in order to rectify the social lifestyle. This is the first law under heaven. Each party member must consciously exercise self-control. What is more important, he must daringly uphold the truth, try to be fair to all, and serve the people wholeheartedly. Only in this way can our party become invincible. Unqualified party members must be urged to quit the party. Their party membership can be reinstated as soon as they have corrected their mistakes and grown into maturity. Those found guilty of violating party discipline and state laws should be treated with complete fairness and without discrimination. Personal considerations of one kind or another should be excluded from the legal deliberations. Only in this way can our party keep its credibility intact.

Wang Congwu: Today, the circumstances surrounding our party are extremely different from what they were during the war. The composition of the party has undergone changes since we came to power, allowing a great number of new elements to join it. After some party members became senior officials, they cared more and more about their personal interests, including their children's interests, and less and less about the interests of the people and the party. In the wake of the decline in revolutionary will among some people has come a tendency to yield ground to bourgeois ultraindividualism. Under its influence, they have taken a stand that is inconsistent with the political line of the Central Committee, and have adopted a negative attitude toward the implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies. As a tactic to resist their implementation, they have even adopted a doubledealing attitude of complying outwardly but opposing inwardly. On the economic front, unhealthy tendencies have prevailed; laws have been violated and discipline has been breached to a serious degree; power has been abused; bonuses have been distributed without regard to merit; bribery is the order of the day; smuggling, tax evasion, speculation, embezzlement, and even robbery of state property through cheating have gone unchecked. Also widespread among some departments and cadres is an interest in promoting the science of public relations, in expanding connections, in "backdoor dealings," and in giving parties and gifts at the expense of public funds. All of these things have been done in violation of the party's principles.

Thus, many comrades have demonstrated a lack of confidence in our party's ability to rectify its workstyle. This is wrong. I believe that as long as party committees at all levels, and especially leading organs and leading cadres, can conscientiously work together in setting an example for others to follow and in mobilizing the masses to develop criticism and self-criticism, they can certainly produce quick and remarkable results in this respect.

Some things: Party committees in some ministries and departments have achieved initial successes in rectifying the workstyle of state organs. A general survey shows that the untenable allegation that "criticism is hard to develop and self-criticism is even harder to get off the ground" is still widely heard. In the case of criticism, some people, wearing amicable faces, often refuse to express their long-held views in the presence of others but want to gossip behind their backs. Or else they discuss everything nonchalantly in the hope of avoiding disputes. There are other people who keep nagging others endlessly over unimportant matters, and even make acrimonious charges in order to save face. This tasteless and vulgar style of thinking and behavior has nothing in common with communist moral qualities and the decent militant style of work which urges

people "to tell the truth instead of saving face" and to consider the situation as a whole. If this unhealthy trend is not conscientiously reversed, it is pointless to talk about the need for old comrades to act as models.

After reviewing Comrade Chen Yun's statement, I feel that, at present, many problems are worthy of our attention. First, we must urge all party members, and especially the party's leading cadres, to take the position of the party and the people in doing everything they do, to serve the public interest, to demonstrate the courage to tell the truth and express their views on the major issues of the day, to criticize unhealthy trends, to criticize themselves for committing mistakes and errors, and "to uphold the truth and correct mistakes." Party organizations must extend strong support to comrades who dare to struggle against unhealthy trends.

Within the ranks of the party, one frequently seen phenomenon is that a debate on a certain relatively complicated issue often results in two diametrically opposite views, each based on different facts. In response to this problem, the leading organs and leading comrades of the party are urged to hear views from both sides of the argument, and to refrain from expressing their views immediately or jumping to hasty conclusions. The correct approach is to let both sides present their facts at the conference table in a party-sponsored meeting, and to let them reason things out and clarify their positions, in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. Only in this way can a more pertinent conclusion be reached. In doing so, we can do justice to all, help to strengthen unity and the party's fighting power, and restore and carry forward the party's excellent traditions.

Sun Yi: We senior cadres must set an example for others to follow, match our promises with deeds, work energetically, and strive to move forward in the direction of bringing about a complete turnaround in the style of the party!

Song Renqiang [1305 0117 4522]: Party members must be organized to conscientiously study Comrade Chen Yun's statement--a document of strategic significance to the building of the party. In the coming year, efforts must be made to maintain social order, and decisive measures must be taken to improve the climate of social life and the party's workstyle. But the successful rectification of the party's workstyle is the key to success in all other work.

CCP ATTACKS POET FOR EXPOSING PRIVILEGES IN HIGH MILITARY RANKS

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 82 pp 30-32

[Article by Gong Qigong [7895 0366 1562]: "Ye Wenfu Criticized"]

[Text] Last August and September, when the CCP had just launched its criticism of "bourgeois liberalization," news leaked out that the criticism in literary and art circles, in addition to being focused on Bai Hua, was also focused on Wang Ruowang, Sun Jingxuan, and armed forces writer Ye Wenfu. Developments in this situation have confirmed that this news was not false.

Ye Wenfu is being criticized.

"General, You'd Better Wash Up"

Ye Wenfu shocked the literary world with his poem against special privileges. In 1970, he issued the long poem "General, You Can't Do This" (published in the August 1979 issue of SHIKAN [POETRY]). This poem criticized a "general" who tore down a nursery school in order to build a private multistoried residence for himself. The poem struck the generals in the army like a thunderbolt. Afterward, Ye Wenfu became a "controversial figure" in the Chinese Communist literary world.

However, the poem for which Ye Wenfu is now being criticized is not "General, You Can't Do This" but "General, You'd Better Wash Up."

"General, You'd Better Wash Up" is a political poem that was published in issue No 1, 1981, of LIAOCHI [LOTUS POND]. It can be regarded as a companion piece to "General, You Can't Do This" but "General, You'd Better Wash Up" came out nearly a year after the "playwriting forum" held in February 1980, just at a time when the literary world was gradually being rectified, so that one can perceive the author's courage and his firmness in opposing special privileges. However, perhaps precisely because of this, it aroused greater aversion from those persons criticized.

As he did for "General, You Can't Do This," Ye Wenfu added a "short preface" to "General, You'd Better Wash Up," as follows:

"A story is going around that after a high-ranking general had finally knocked down his adversary--a stooge within the army of the "gang of four"--in a desperate struggle and had replaced him, he employed a military construction company

(which should have been sent back in its parent mechanized detachment) for over a year to build under his private supervision a splendid basement of all-weather design and able to withstand an atomic bomb attack or an earthquake of force nine and above. The modern bathtub in the basement's bathroom alone cost nearly 10,000 yuan! (Here, I really cannot bring myself to write 'people's' currency!)"

As did the "short preface": "Generally, You Can't Do This," this preface triggered a storm of investigations on the poet Ye Wenfu. In the final analysis, he was writing about, and, similarly, "General You'd Better Wake Up" caused the "comrades concerned to inquire into this matter in order to determine its truth or falsity. Naturally, the investigation produced no general in real life who had 'actually done such a thing.' Actually, one cannot equate real truth with literary and artistic truth. Poetry is a form of literature and art; literature and art permit fabrications. Then why was the 'investigation' pursued so stubbornly! 'One advances by truth and falls back by falsehood'--therefore, Ye Wenfu has been censured for 'deliberately obscuring the problem of opposition to special privileges which is of extreme concern to the people, by insinuating what actually is not to be taken as authoritative.' 'In order to pander to the tastes and sentiments of certain people, he showed no consideration for the prestige of the party and the prestige of the armed forces.'"

Starting from the background of the "short preface," Ye Wenfu used poetic language to make a profound criticism of the idea of special privileges. Without question, many words in the poem are valid, and pointed at those who exercise special privileges. For example, at the beginning of the poem he writes:

Yes, General, you really would wake up--
Even if you were to die you shouldn't leave a corpse that is
too desiccated!
But you should not use this kind of bathtub--
All these bathtubs are the height of modernization,
And doesn't modernization mean that you can rape young girls
as you please!

Poet Ye Wenfu's bitter hatred of the idea of special privileges is also shown in his using feudal emperors and bourgeois generals as a mirror from which the proletarian "general" can draw a lesson. Even in the poem the author lets the general wash in the long river of history, he writes:

There is the headless corpse of Liu Zongmin,
There is the blood that bespattered Robespierre!
There are the airbills that countless supreme mandarins used to
hang themselves,
There are the final tears of countless generals who gave the
garland of victory!

Then the poem makes the direct exposure:

Iron armors and coats of the individuals history of yesterday,
The appendages of Qiyi and Huang Jue swarmed their way into
our party meetings.

We can see that the exposure and lashing of the idea of special privileges contained in this poem was penetrating. Without a shadow of a doubt, this kind of penetrating exposure could not be tolerated by high-ranking civil and military officials, especially certain "generals," in contemporary China.

Another Painful Pricking of the "General"

Therefore, beginning in November 1981, the publications JIEFANGJUN BAO, JIEFANGJUN WENYI [LIBERATION ARMY LITERATURE AND ART], and WENYI BAO launched criticism of Ye Wenfu and his poem "General, You'd Better Wash Up." The first to do so was JIEFANGJUN BAO, which on 1 November 1981 published on page 4 an article signed by Fan Shuo [3058 4311] entitled "Is It a 'Floral Wreath' or a 'Bayonet'?" Soon afterward, the magazine JIEFANGJUN WENYI published in issue No 11 of 1981 a piece by Lu Yu [7120 5038] entitled "Illusory Truth and Recollected Danger"; and issue No 23 of the 1981 WENYI BAO carried a piece by Zhou Shenming [0719 3747 2494] entitled "From 'General, You'd Better Wash Up' One Can See the Deviations in Ye Wenfu's Creations." Within a month many articles had launched criticisms of Ye Wenfu and his political poem.

Summing up, the criticism of Ye Wenfu and his "General, You'd Better Wash Up" is focused on the following problems: The poet is blamed for distorting real life, confusing the two kinds of contradictions of a different nature, and aiming his spearhead directly at high-level leading cadres of the party and the armed forces --this runs diametrically counter to the "four basic principles" and is a "deviation of bourgeois liberalization."

The critics say that Ye Wenfu "because he has been influenced by the ideological trend toward bourgeois liberalization, increasingly bad deviations have emerged in his works"; "we see few 'floral wreaths' that he has presented to the people but many 'whizzing bayonets'" and "these bayonets are not thrust at the enemy but are aimed at the high-level leading cadres of the party and the armed forces." On the one hand, critics admit that in China there really does exist a serious phenomena of bureaucracy and special privileges and that exposure and criticism of them are not cause for criticism. But they also think that Ye Wenfu has directed his spearhead against "proletarian revolutionaries" who have "backward class attributes," against "high-level leaders of the party" and "leaders at all levels," and against the "Qin Ershi's" and "Yang Guang's" of the contemporary era. This is absolutely wrong. It "distorts our real life," and "confuses the two contradictions of a different nature and confuses feudal rulers with the people's revolutionary leading figures" "to the extent that we are not distinguished from the enemy and that black and white are not differentiated." Ye Wenfu takes "the exposure and criticism of the phenomena of bureaucracy and special privileges and raises it to a struggle against bureaucrats and those who exercise special privileges, and he considers this to be the principle contradiction in present-day society." This is also "wrong," because "this kind of depiction is no different from making hints to the reader that bureaucrats and people who exercise special privileges like the general already pose a serious threat to present-day society."

"I Am a Moth" Is Also Criticized

Along with "General, You'd Better Wash Up," Ye Wenfu's recent work "I Am a Moth" has also come under criticism. The poem "I Am a Moth" was published in issue

No 3, 1981, of the large literary and art periodical SHIYUE [OCTOBER]. This poem also exposes and satirizes the dark side of reality. This poem begins:

"The heavy blackness of night--I seek light! I seek--fire! I am a moth!"

In the middle part of the poem, Ye Wenfu wrote:

"Obviously I had fluttered toward a firefly, thinking that it was a messenger from God--it cheated me! it played with me!" "I set in motion my mechanism of life and used my wings to roll up the black night--to roll up the black night's murder! terror! conspiracy! pretense! careerism! baseness! craftiness! the arrogance of ignorance! the cancer of power! absurdities! betrayal! mediocrity! rule by force! bribery! servility! degeneracy! honorable parasitism! sacred plunder!..."

At the end the poet writes: "In the midst of this moving and tragic destruction, I see a--by the flickering light of raging flames is forged a powerful--China!"

What this poem implies must also be criticized, for it is said "to depict our present-day society as a 'jumble of black clouds' and as utterly hopeless."

Besides, according to the critics, this poem "is obviously a plagiarization of the sound and rhythm of Guo Moruo's 'Phoenix Nirvana.'" But Guo Moruo's poem was written in old China during the period of the "May Fourth Movement." At that time, the "rock like darkness" of old China should have been exposed. After 1960, Ye Wenfu followed in Guo Moruo's footsteps, but it was "an error of confusing eras and viewpoints." Thus, the critics affirm that Ye Wenfu really "confused" the essential distinction between the two kinds of contradictions in the old and new societies. However, this criticism of "Moth" is not convincing. Can we say that in the sixties we saw none of the things that the masses of people dwelt upon in the period of the "May Fourth Movement"? No! The specter of 19th century feudalism still stalks the great land of China today!

Why Was "General, You Can't Do This" Let Off?

Finally, what is worth pondering is that, of the two poems Ye Wenfu wrote about generals--"General, You Can't Do This" and "General, You'd Better Wash Up"--the former's effect on the Chinese Communist literary world was much more widespread and profound than the latter's, but then why did the party authorities criticize the latter but not the former? I'm afraid that this is something that would be awkward to disclose. Since he is a party member writer in the armed forces, Ye Wenfu's exposure in this manner of the special privilege mentality and work style of high-level cadres in the armed forces is a manifestation of a "loss of the party spirit and viewpoint" which naturally could not be tolerated. That Ye Wenfu must be criticized was early "decided at a higher level but not officially announced" and the real cause of the criticism of Ye Wenfu was his "General, You Can't Do This"--these are things that people take for granted. But it was obviously out of tactical considerations that his profoundly influential long poem "General, You Can't Do This" was let off and his poem "General, You'd Better Wash Up" was criticized. In 1981, during the process of choosing by public appraisal a poem to receive the "Excellence in Poetry Prize," both Ye Wenfu's

"General, You Can't Do This" and Xiong Zhaozheng's "Please Raise a Forest of Hands, Stop!" (this poem was reprinted in issue No 47 of CHENG MING--editor) were being considered. When the choice was made public, it was Xiong Zhaozheng's long poem that took the prize and Ye Wenfu's poem was not chosen. According to the old poet Ai Qing: "In the selection process, the differences between political and artistic views led to many struggles and compromises." That Ye Wenfu's "General, You Can't Do This" was not selected was probably the result of a "compromise." But this "compromise" certainly did not mean that the poem was bad. At the very least, the fact that it was considered by the selection meeting shows that it was a good poem. Thus, it would be very difficult to persuade the literary and art circles to make Ye Wenfu's "General, You Can't Do This" the target of criticism in the present campaign against "liberalization." Isn't this, perhaps, precisely the reason that the criticism has not been shifted to such a well-known work as "General, You Can't Do This"?

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